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## SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH *September-October, 1941*

### NATIONAL DEFENSE AND THE FAMILY

SAMUEL HAIG JAMESON  
*University of Oregon*

● Irrespective of the institution under consideration, we live in an age of increasing insecurity and a corresponding urge for the maintenance of orderly security. So emphatic is this urge that national defense, at least in our country, is widening its scope into international defense. Undoubtedly, in spite of varying political ideologies, all nations including Russia seek their security in the domain of the home and the family. Almost everywhere the family is taken as a catchall. Perhaps too much is being expected from this institution. Particularly in times of national crises with high-pitched hysteria the issues which are not necessarily related to national defense, yet constituting the essential features of the family, become definitely overlooked.

Whether it is the nation or the family, an institution in its collective sense is helpless without the establishment of the principle of stability and orderliness.

The major problem to be faced, therefore, by both the nation and the family, is how to reconcile these opposing interests in order to preserve the rights and the integrity of all concerned. At times the game is played badly either by the family or by the nation; at other times, so well that the problem solves itself. However, the danger still lurks around the corner that, if we try to defend the nation, in our eagerness we may sacrifice the family, and, if we do not prepare to defend the family, we may see before our own eyes the collapse of the nation.

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In spite of some contradictions and dilemmas, the nation renders specific services to the family and the family reciprocates them. It is common knowledge that the family is not a sovereign unit. The state is. It is the state that sanctions the union of the mates. Although the state cannot make parents love their children, it forces them to protect their children. The state deprives parents of their children's company in time of economic distress or in case of irresponsibility and negligence on the part of parents. Even husbands are separated from their beloved in time of war. Therefore, the state functions as a protector and a preventer of the family by demanding of and dictating to the family those things which serve the interest of the nation. Contrary to current cynical opinion, the government is not interested in children merely in order to use them as cannon fodder in the future. The activities of the federal and state governments show how they are interested in helping the families to enjoy their children to the extent that national and international conditions permit. To be sure, the prospect of war and the national defense program now on foot create a great deal of worry, disillusionment, and fear in facing the future. These may be accompanied by national suicide. In fact, in order to protect the nation against this insidious suicide, the government has taken the initiative in making it possible for families to increase their fertility, encouraging the development of human resources which otherwise would have weakened the national strength. Certainly an *enfeebled nation cannot protect its families, nor can an unfertile family foster national defense*. In time of war families become engaged in protection, and in time of peace they must strive toward perfection.

Certainly the family *as is* in some levels of society does not portray a desirable picture. Thousands and millions of families do not enjoy those privileges which are sup-



posed to accompany this institution. The institution of the family presents many seamy aspects of sordid relationships which prevent it from rendering its appointed function in connection with the larger institution—the state.

Whichever way we look, the family cannot be spared from its future responsibilities. As it has functioned in the past as a vehicle to transmit the culture of one generation to the succeeding one, in this present state of affairs its primary duty is to carry on to the coming generation of men what has been learned through trial and error, through our sweat and tears, through visions and disillusionments. Now, no culture, no matter how desirable, can be perpetuated without people who can become incumbents. If the number of offspring is gradually reduced because of this lack of assumption of responsibilities for the future on the part of the family, there will be no one to pass it on to or to absorb the available civilization. The family, therefore, as in the past can assist the state by increasing its own numbers. This does not mean necessarily that married men and women should procreate purely because of a sense of responsibility to the state or in order to perpetuate the species. Family life can be made interesting for its own sake. It is a good experience to have children, with all their attendant worries, trials, and tribulations, for the fun one will derive from their presence—the joy of watching them grow. It is interesting to note how children observe and absorb the absurd, foolish, at times asinine ways in which their parents behave. Moreover, by watching this process parents and other adults can see themselves as in a mirror. We can realize the kind of apes we are by seeing the aping process to which our children resort.

That there is a close relationship between war and the family is apparent to all. Meanwhile, it is just as important to remember that the warring families accentuate the

troubles of the nation which is preparing for war in the name of defense. Undoubtedly, war in the family group, whether manifested through husband and wife incompatibilities, parent-child conflicts, or feuds between in-laws and in-loves, depletes the essential resources of the family. Energies spent in such domestic activities, like unused labor, are dissipated and cannot be recaptured. That we have many warring families in time of peace who injure the prospect of national defense in time of war must become the basis for our honest confession that everything is not well with the family and therefore will not be well with the nation.

There is another aspect of the problem, however, which must be borne in mind. The function of the family is to perfect national defense by creating morale, an *esprit de corps* which will extend the range of cause-consciousness and widen the scope of perfection. There are certain internal forces peculiar to the institution of the family which would enable the nation to reap a harvest in terms of national defense. Birth control, whether through the practice of self-control or resort to mechanical devices, has direct relation to national defense. In spite of the fact that more than thirty states in the Union have sterilization laws, the practice during the last twenty years has not weeded out the unfit. In fact, the eugenists' attempts to deal with the so-called abnormal have had no effect on the improvement of the physical status of the total population. It is at this juncture that the institution of the family, the primary function of which is to bear and rear children, becomes directly related to the problems of national defense. Of course, action taken now will not show results until the next generation, but any kind of larger cause-consciousness always projects itself into the future. It must not be taken as a sign of pessimism when I state that perhaps we shall have other national crises in terms of pros-

pects of war or war itself in which our children will be involved by 1960 or 1970. If the American nation is to endure, it is up to the institution of the family to make that possible by being emphatic *now* on *positive eugenics*. Attempts in this direction are already being made in several places. In some states public health divisions are disseminating free birth control information to people who should not reproduce. Maternal health centers are diffusing knowledge concerning the spacing of children. Some agencies are devoting their time exclusively to family counseling. Family and marriage clinics are giving up-to-date advice. Universities and colleges are offering courses for the enlightenment of students who will assume the role of parenthood in the future. The ultimate objective of these endeavors is to make the family a more wholesome unit which will serve the interests of the nation more efficiently both in time of war and in time of peace.

From what I have said the conviction grows that without some definite and determined plan it is not possible to supply the necessary human resources so sorely needed by the national defense program. The interdependence of these two institutions, the nation and the family, is so evident that the same motto is equally applicable to each, "Tool up now so that we can deliver then." Without a tooling-up process on the part of the national defense, future defense is a vagary, and without the family's bracing itself in these dark days it will not be possible to deliver the necessary men and women with their respective resources in time of future crises. National defense? Most assuredly. But the protection and perfection of the family irrespective of national defense emergencies are problems to be faced by the family and their solution determined according to the resources of the family itself.

Human experience is a continuous series of sequential struggles. Within these struggles each institution plays its

part. Truly enough, there have been periods in human experience when the family has won. At other times the nation has won, but in the total process of tooling up human resources both the family and the nation will lose if there is a contest between them. These two institutions instead of carrying on a contest are complementary in nature. Respect by each for the needs and the functions of the other and a co-ordination of these respective interests are in order. To be sure, we have been concerned too much with national defense and family structures and too little with faith in either of them. If the family is going to render service to the nation, it must become elastic enough to fit itself to the changing conditions with their mounting demands. But this necessary elasticity in the family must be based on *tested knowledge*; otherwise, the family's contribution to well-planned national defense becomes an empty phrase and a pious wish. For generations there has been a marital relationship between the family and the nation. If domesticity on the part of the family is secured under duress or is conceded for sake of convenience on the part of either party, disorganization and disintegration will inevitably result; but, if the relationship is based on mutual aid because of the conviction that reciprocity of service exists between the two without jeopardizing the values entertained by either of them and with a desire to realize the ends sought jointly, peace, prosperity, and progressive self-realization can be expected.

The ancient Greek masters exalted the female species in plastic art. Among the marvelous sculptures there still remains the disarmed Venus de Milo with her subtle smile and well-proportioned body, an embodiment of sympathy and affection. She has survived for centuries, but she has remained inert throughout the ages in her disarmed condition. National defense demands from our families re-armed Amazons not to shoulder arms side by side with

their brothers but to utilize those God-given arms around the tender and helpless bodies of suckling infants, utilize them in expressing devotion to the growing child and in rendering a helping hand to the fighting husband, brother, or father, and thereby prepare a new generation as servants of national security. As the weeks and months roll on swiftly, as the armies of internal and external invasions extend their sphere of devastation, may we who are charged with responsibilities in these critical days not seek refuge within regressive infantilism, but work in harmony within the confines of the family to increase our chance and security so that we may rightly say, "In family we trust." In family we trust is not a shibboleth, but a functioning reality demonstrable in our daily behavior which will guarantee the perpetuation of the family and insure the preservation of our nation.



## SOCIAL CHANGE IN FORMOSA\*

WILLIAM KIRK  
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● *Assimilation and acculturation.* A Japanese who came as a settler to a small village on the east coast of Formosa in 1910 gives an interesting account of his experiences.

I was a small boy when I came over here with my parents. I was happy by day, but by night we were frightened from time to time by the loud shouts of the many ferocious savages who attempted to kill us. There had, of course, been stretched strong wire entanglements around the mountains which were infested by the savages but these never seemed to protect us perfectly from danger. Our policemen warned us against the approach of the head-hunters by beating the trunks of betel-nut trees. I can never forget those dreadful nights.

The blood-thirsty aborigines, however, were not the only source of our fear. We must always be careful not to be bitten by venomous serpents and malarial mosquitoes, and also to keep wild boars from our sugar cane fields. In 1914, we had a violent storm which completely devastated our houses and farms. But we were never discouraged over the calamity and soon set about rebuilding again. In later years, the savages were subjugated in a large scale campaign and we cleared more of the wood-land for cultivating rice, tobacco, and lemon. Today we have nearly 300 families in our village, and all of us are living a happy life. Even the savages have now abandoned their "old ideas and are good friends."

The aborigines of the plains may have become more or less accommodated to a civilized order, although it is too much to claim that they are already assimilated; it is also certainly true to say that the mountain savages, the Atayal, the Bunun, and the Paiwan, are still in a fighting mood. The Japanese lay the blame for this hostility upon the

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\* The first article in this series was published in the July-August issue of *Sociology and Social Research* under the title "Social Organization Among the Primitives of Formosa."

Chinese, who started the trouble centuries ago when they first drove the primitives from their ancestral lands. According to the Japanese version,

When these unscrupulous and utterly heartless creatures wished to obtain possession of the land belonging to the savages, they would give them a present promising to repeat the same each year. But once the savages had listened to their request and allowed them to use the land, the wily celestials collected other equally wily and unscrupulous men around them, and as soon as they felt themselves strong enough, repudiated all their promises and falling upon the too trustful savages, drove them off by force.

It is only natural, say the Japanese, that the savages have developed an intense hatred for all foreigners and look upon Japanese, as well as Chinese, as deadly foes. So many Japanese, in the decade following 1895, lost their lives in a vain effort to subjugate the savages that some officials looked upon the campaign as hopeless and were in favor of giving the savages up as untamable wild men. Others held to the opinion that the aborigines would become civilized if they could be exposed to Japanese culture.

In 1903, according to Takekoshi, several savage girls were taken to the Domestic Exhibition at Osaka. After a few months' stay in Japan, they had changed their manners and appearance so much that they looked at first glance like Japanese girls. When they returned home, their mothers did not approve of the way in which they wore their hair, Japanese fashion of course, and angrily declared that the foreign styles, including facial powder and rouge, were most unbecoming. The girls laughed and replied, "You only say so because you are savages." The Japanese have often used this incident to prove that the aborigines may be tamed and "Japanized."

But the Japanese, above all, are looking for new food supplies. Overpopulated Nippon is anxious to bring the

savage-controlled lands of Formosa speedily under cultivation, and the Nipponese cannot afford to stand by and wait patiently over the years for the policy of kindness and good will to work its slow way to the hearts and minds of the primitive peoples. It is far better, the rulers think, to gain complete control over the forbidden territory now, by force of arms if necessary, and speed up the processes of accommodation and assimilation.

As one result of this aggressive policy, the Japanese have built a "guard line" by cutting a wide path along the crest of mountains and thus surrounding the districts in which the "wild men" dwell. Beyond this picket line near the districts most thickly populated with savage tribes, the jungle is cleared for a distance of one hundred to three hundred feet. This open space makes it possible to detect the approach of hostile bands and gives the Japanese soldiers a good firing range. Guardhouses of wood, bamboo, earth, or stone are built at strategic points with loopholes in the walls. These tiny fortifications are further protected by wooden barricades and entrenchments. Wire fences and entanglements, charged with electricity, have encircled some districts. Mines have sometimes been sunk, grenades have been thrown during a battle, and three-inch guns have been used with telling effect. One gun, carried up steep slopes and mounted at a commanding point, will hold back many savage warriors.<sup>1</sup>

The repeated campaigns to subdue the savages by force of arms in the years following 1895 met with slight success. The Japanese soldiers knew so little about the geography of the country and were so poorly equipped to deal with the guerilla warfare of the savages that they not only were defeated again and again but were often forced to beat a disorderly retreat and leave their weapons behind to fall into the hands of the enemy. The Japanese had to

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<sup>1</sup> *Report on the Control of the Aborigines*, Bureau of Aboriginal Affairs, Taihoku, 1911.

grope through creeping vines and underbrush because they did not know the trails, while the savages could run like deer and climb like monkeys.

The Japanese gradually learned through costly experience how to stretch out and defend the guard line successfully.

The camphor companies came to the aid of the puzzled soldiers with well-trained guards of their own, until in 1907 the guard line, which had measured only fifty miles under the Chinese administration and one hundred miles in 1896, extended for three hundred miles over hill and dale. Every half mile or so the line is fortified by guardhouses or pillboxes. Two or three guards live at each station, and there is one superintendent to every four or five guardhouses. A policeman and his family live at the superintendent's station. The sentinels, who patrol the path between the guardhouses, challenge all savages—even the peaceful ones must get special permission to travel and must approach the line only at certain designated places. The guards are ordered to use their rifles if the savages disregard the challenge. The superintendents communicate with one another by means of a system of alarms which will bring immediate aid to any station in trouble. These guardhouses, for the most part, are located far up on the mountain slopes in the midst of dense forests.

According to Japanese reports, these outposts of the Empire are no longer sorely needed.<sup>2</sup> The wire fence is not electrified, and the guard line is no longer heavily patrolled. Certain Japanese traders who obtain special permits may go beyond the guard lines and barter with the natives, but they must not bring into the mountains either arms or ammunition. Consequently, the only way the primitive can get modern weapons is by smuggling them into the hills.

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<sup>2</sup> Yosaburo Takekoshi, *Japanese Rule in Formosa* (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1907).

As the Japanese have carried away all firearms found in native villages, the savages have complained that this policy of confiscation has worked an unnecessary hardship on many nonhostile groups. Without guns, the aborigines are seriously handicapped in one of the absorbing interests of their lives—bird shooting and bear hunting.

The officials have replied that hunting, after all, is "contrary to the principles of humanity" and that the primitives should turn their attention away from warlike pursuits to tilling the soil and raising corn and potatoes. The Japanese are hoping that this plan will force the savages to adopt "gentler ways of living." As late as 1934, headlines in the newspapers, such as "Rebellious Savages Found—Leader Anatex Killed by Machine Gun Fire," would seem to indicate that the mountain tribes are by no means entirely subjugated.

At the close of 1934 there were 536 stations with 5,509 policemen, whose duty it is to maintain peace and order, to give industrial and agricultural training to the villagers, especially the young folks, and to provide medical care. The chief objectives of this work may be briefly summarized: an invigoration of the national spirit, diffusion of the national language, abolition of long-standing evil customs, cultivation of a love for labor, of thrift, and of settled farming.<sup>3</sup>

This ambitious program to assimilate the aborigines of Formosa, 154,255 strong, is entrusted to a Bureau of Aborigines Affairs within the Police Affairs Section of the Government General. The work of the policeman among the *Takasagozoku*, as the primitives are called, is in many respects decidedly unique. This guardian of the law, to repeat, is teacher, counselor, financial and agricultural adviser, doctor, nurse, and religious leader all in one. To educate the savages in Japanese manners and ideals, to

<sup>3</sup> Kokusai Nippon Kyokai, *A Record of Taiwan's Progress*, Taihoku, p. 62.



destroy native customs, beliefs, and traditions, and to accelerate the process of *ko-min-ka* (i.e., change to Imperial people) are the policeman's main duties in each village. Notwithstanding certain difficulties which have arisen in the past because of unfortunate relations of some policemen with native women, high officials report that the teacher-policemen, assigned to the special task of savage administration, seem to have done creditable work.

In addition to schools, young men's associations are formed to stimulate an interest in the study of the Japanese language.

The government of Formosa, as a part of *ko-min-ka*, has adopted a policy of removing the aborigines from their remote mountain homes to small parcels of land on the plains where they can be more easily watched and where they may acquire some skill as tillers of the soil. The agricultural possibilities of the lowlands include rice fields, livestock, sericulture, and sugar cane. Not infrequently, when the authorities have tried to pull a village up by the roots and transplant it at the foot of the mountain, the natives have openly rebelled against their rulers. But the soldiers quickly subdue the ringleaders and continue their policy of "removals" according to schedule. The government erects huts on the plains, rent free, for the mountain families and prepares rice fields and vegetable plots, which are also free from tax. Free medical care is provided. The Japanese claim that the savages know nothing about business and that the usual run of merchants and traders take an unfair advantage when they get a chance to barter with the natives. Consequently, the policeman assumes complete control over native affairs and decides with whom the primitives are to trade.

Since the savage is in the habit of burning off the grass and then planting the seed, there is constant danger of forest fires in the mountains. The soil is soon exhausted

under this rough treatment, and the native then moves to a new area and repeats the process of setting fire to the underbrush and sowing the seed. The Japanese hope to teach the aborigines how to use fertilizers on their new lands and to cultivate one plot or field from season to season.

With the introduction of agricultural pursuits and Japanese clothing, the primitives are going through a social revolution. In the mountain homes the women have done the weaving for centuries, and the native garments were all homespun. Now the Japanese are taking raw materials from the villagers, and the women who have been transplanted to the lowlands must learn new ways of doing things "down on the farm."

Naturally enough, the tribes living farthest up in the high mountains are most resistant to change. The Atayal, the Bunun, and the Paiwan, for example, will continue to annoy their Japanese rulers for some time to come. The Atayal huddle together in colonies and are most difficult to move; the Bunun live apart from one another in the mountains and are more easily moved to the foothills, where small villages are ready to receive these involuntary migrants.<sup>4</sup>

In the course of a few years the old culture of the Formosan primitive will probably be only a memory, for the Japanese will have pushed their policy of *ko-min-ka* far into the high mountains. Fortunately, several scholars of the Imperial University have done extensive research in the origin, history, and customs of the aborigines, and these men are trying to preserve for future generations a true picture of native Formosan culture as it was before the coming of Chinese and Japanese.

Christian missionaries came to Formosa in the nineteenth century and carried on evangelical work among the

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<sup>4</sup> Interview with T. Soda, Professor of Public Health, Taihoku Imperial University.

aborigines, but now under Japanese rule religious teaching is prohibited in administrative districts. A member of the Atayal tribe, who received his training in Taihoku, spent three months in prison, it is said, because he "preached the gospel" among his own people in administrative districts. Previously the young man had been appointed to work among the Ami, who are considered as having been assimilated by the Japanese, and the military police did not interfere with his mission there. His personal efforts in behalf of his own people, the Atayal, however, led to his arrest on the grounds of religious propaganda. Specifically, he was charged with failure to show proper respect to the "god-shelf," or Shinto Shrine, in his own home.

The worship of the shrine in every household is a part of the larger program to transform "wild savages" into good imperialistic Japanese.

The government, likewise, hopes to make the aborigines more productive economically. Their temperament, like that of the North American Indians and so many other primitives, does not fit them to be factory workers, dock laborers, or members of construction gangs. They might be pressed into service as road or brush workers in the mountain passes.

The Ami to a greater extent than any other tribe have become assimilated or "Japanized," and it may be more than a coincidence that this East Coast group seems to have the best physique and enjoy the best health and cultural conditions.

The Ami have schools for their children, a young men's association for their youth, and credit organizations in several villages. Some of the more prosperous natives are in possession of more than ten *ko*, i.e., hectares, of cultivated fields, while others have annual incomes of one thousand yen or more in currency. Some villagers also

have postal savings. "The Ami are now enjoying their life as subjects of the Japanese Empire."

With regard to the natives living on the West Coast plains, it can be said that they have practically adopted the tenets of ordinary civilization. The aborigines in the mountainous districts still remain impervious to the light of civilization, and their districts, thus debarred from the beneficence of civilization, are still under special administrative control. In general, the aborigines are not put under legal control, and are accordingly living their own lives in consonance with their own traditional customs. At present, however, most of the aborigines have come to obey the order of supervisory police officials, and have in other ways become law-abiding people ready to submit to administrative authority.<sup>5</sup>

*Japanization of the people of Taiwan.* The social significance of these attempts on the part of Japan to assimilate the savages will stand out much more clearly if we look upon this process as part of a much larger movement known as *ko-min-ka*, which means literally "change to Imperial people."

This economic, social, political, and religious movement dates from the beginning of the China incident and is of particular importance because the Japanese are planning to apply this same program with variations to the conquered and occupied territories of Asia.

First of all, certain slogans appear again and again in newspapers, in theaters, in public addresses, and in public places, which are intended to take the place of independent thinking on the part of the masses.

"Spiritual Mobilization," "The New Order in East Asia," "100,000,000 People of 1 Mind," "The Great Mission of Taiwan," "The Resolve of the People of Taiwan," "Annihilate the Unsound Doctrines Which Oppose Understanding of the Present Situation" are popular phrases which every Japanese in Formosa hears or sees several times a day.

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<sup>5</sup> Kokusai Nippon Kyokai, *op. cit.*, pp. 7, 9-10.

The common people today are called upon to make so many sacrifices that the government is appealing to their sense of loyalty to the Empire and to their intense national patriotism to keep the masses united and in a mood to endure further privations. The present campaign for "Spiritual Mobilization" includes (1) encouragement of savings, spending nothing for luxuries and very little for necessities; (2) mobilization of gold; (3) free gifts of labor, money, and materials to help carry on the war; (4) improvement of health and training to increase the stature. Very few persons are exempt from labor services. Road and bridge building, flood prevention, cleaning and caring for shrines and shrine grounds, clearing and cleaning airports, and tree planting are types of labor which any able-bodied person may be called upon to do. When a worker receives notice to report on a certain day and at a certain time and place, he usually thinks twice before he dares to ignore the summons.

Money contributions are made through the *chokai* (municipal system) and the *hoko* (the rural system). The government raises considerable sums also by promoting "one-vegetable" meals and soliciting the savings of the frugal peasants. "One house-one thing" campaigns have brought thousands of yen to the colonial treasury from the sale of goods which patriotic Taiwanese have contributed from their scanty store of personal effects. The overburdened farmers frequently find that the government has made a levy on their crops; and, in addition, they feel obliged to make contributions of animals, fruit, vegetables, and currency to help maintain the Japanese soldiers abroad.

*The Japanese language.* Japan has undertaken the immense task of changing the language of nearly 5,000,000 people. First of all, those who are struggling to acquire a workable knowledge of Japanese are listed in the "blue book" and are given special privileges and exemp-



tions. Those who speak no Japanese have little chance of holding any elective political office. In banks and government offices Japanese alone is spoken. Above the doorways of Formosan homes where Japanese is spoken appears the legend: "This household speaks the national language." Signs frequently appear in busses and public places admonishing the people to "Speak only the National Language."

*Koshusho*, or national language training schools, which have sprung up to facilitate the teaching of Japanese to adults, numbered 7,306 in 1939. The classes meet in schoolrooms, public halls, or private homes under the leadership usually of Japanese-speaking Formosans who contribute their services free. From the year 1943 Formosan children will attend primary school for at least six years under a compulsory education law similar to the law in Japan proper.

Theoretically, Japanese and Formosans may attend the middle and high school as well as the university, but in practice the Formosans find many difficulties in their path. The more important positions in business and the professions, with one exception, seem to be held by Japanese exclusively. Medicine is the one profession open to educated Formosans on equal terms with the Japanese.

Beginning with 1940, the 2,600th anniversary year of the Empire, Formosans have been permitted to take Japanese names. It may be significant that in the eight months just prior to the writer's visit only 367 families had signified their willingness to change their Chinese names.

In striking contrast to this nonconformity in Formosa, the Koreans, who received the same invitation, have adopted Japanese names almost 100 per cent. A distinguished American religious leader explained to the writer that the Koreans are docile and easily led, while the Formosans are more stubborn in their resistance to change.

Nevertheless, that this policy of Japanization is bearing fruit is clearly shown by the following table compiled from Taiwan official reports:

JAPANESE-SPEAKING FORMOSANS

<i>Year</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Per cent of Total Population</i>
1905	10,801	469	11,270	0.4
1915	50,143	4,194	54,337	1.6
1920	87,897	11,168	99,065	2.9
1930	294,677	70,750	365,427	8.5
1937	...	...	...	37.8
1938	...	...	...	41.9
1939	...	...	...	45.6

*Chinese culture.* The government officials of Taiwan are trying to abolish the Chinese culture patterns of the Formosan people. The "Spiritual Mobilization" program formulated as a result of the "China Incident" involves radical changes in social customs and religion as well as the substitution of Japanese for the Formosan language. A number of social customs are particularly objectionable to the Taiwan government. (1) Foot-binding is still practiced among the Taiwanese women, especially among those whose forefathers came originally from Fukien, China, although the custom is now prohibited by law. In 1905, according to official statistics, 59.6 per cent of the entire female population had deformed feet, in 1915 the percentage had dropped to 17.4 per cent, and in 1920 only 11.8 per cent of the women were victims of foot-binding. Today the young women are practically free from this affliction, but many of the older women are cruelly misshapen and walk with extreme difficulty. (2) The Japanese are trying to change the burial customs of the Formosans by urging cremation to promote sanitation and to conserve the land. The Chinese are reluctant to give up

the time-honored practice of depositing their dead in concrete mounds and vaults, and resent any interference on the part of the government. (3) Firecrackers, so dear to young and old, are no longer permitted. The Chinese find that the noise quickly brings the military police to the scene; so they comply with this law. (4) Another law which the subject people frequently disobey, however, is the prohibition of gold and silver religious papers, which the Chinese persist in burning at their temple ceremonies. (5) Traditional Chinese costumes no longer meet with the approval of the ruling class. The Taiwanese who discard their native dress are more apt to receive favors from the military police. Guardians of the law have been known to cut cloth buttons from the garments of Formosan Chinese in public. (6) The traditional Chinese theater is no longer free to give performances of classical plays in the old style. Actors must appear in modern or Japanese clothes, and preferably in plays which dwell upon the Japanese themes of loyalty and *Bushido*. The Taiwan puppet plays are illegal except by police permission. (7) "Due to the present situation," storytellers are no longer allowed free speech. (8) The Japanese are opposed to betel-nut chewing and are anxious to put a stop to the habit, but they have not yet taken positive action. The natives buy and use betel nuts without police interference. (9) As opium is a government monopoly, the Japanese are in a position to exercise strict control. Opium smoking, it is claimed, is declining rapidly. (10) The Taiwan officials do not approve of native dances and festivals, but permit a few savage tribes to stage their traditional dances under close supervision.

*Religion.* Besides changing the language and social customs of the people, the Japanese wish to destroy the Taiwan religion and the local temples, and substitute in their place the Japanese torii, shrine, and the Shinto

ritual. This policy is well illustrated by a personal experience. During his stay in Formosa, the writer was closely guarded by the military police. One gendarme, and sometimes two, always accompanied the "foreign suspect" on his visits to the Chinese and primitive settlements. Even in Taihoku, the principal city, a policeman in plain clothes was invariably on hand when the writer would appear in the morning, and this "guard-of-honor" would not take his leave until the day's work was done. The "foreigner" made a useful discovery very early in his Formosan career. Whenever a new "guard" appeared, a visit to the nearest Shrine came first on the day's schedule. At once the whole attitude of the policeman toward his non-Japanese companion seemed to change from one of suspicion to friendliness, and he unconsciously became more or less an interested "research assistant." Unfortunately, the Japanese system seemed to call for a change of policemen as soon as one "guard" showed signs of proving his worth as "a social investigator."

The residents of Formosa today, it appears, if they wish to gain status in the eyes of public officials, may do well to forsake all other religions and follow the teachings of Shintoism.

*Christianity.* Christian missionaries are facing formidable obstacles in their daily work. In fact, the white families (February, 1941) have already left for their home countries in despair, and the native pastors of local Christian churches are being closely watched by the police. In general, the government is unfriendly to the missionaries; and, in turn, the missionaries, as a rule, have not been in sympathy with the policy of *ko-min-ka*. The white Christians have taught the natives in the Formosan Chinese dialects rather than in Japanese, and they have mingled almost exclusively with Formosan people. The government has naturally suspected that the influence of the

missionaries has been thrown on the side of the Chinese and against national unity.

*Spiritual mobilization.* As an integral part of the Japanization program, the "Ten Commandments of Taiwan" are given wide publicity.

1. Revere the Emperor. Make your body, as well as soul, that of a Japanese.
2. Revere the Shinto Shrine. Discard superstition.
3. Use the Japanese language. Discard Formosan Chinese.
4. Keep your body clean. Be neat in your dress.
5. Pay attention to hygiene. Stop the habit of eating in public.
6. Build sanitary facilities.
7. Think of the comfort of others; do good to them.
8. Follow the path of an honest man. Let us abolish thieves and liars.
9. Stop gambling. Work hard and earnestly.
10. Be polite and quiet. Stop quarrels and avoid speaking in loud tones.

Men, women, and children among the Japanese, wherever the radio is heard, follow the physical exercises which are designed to promote health and increase their stature. Morning, noon, and night the people are supposed to take advantage of setting-up drills. One of the most impressive sights in Taihoku, the capital, is the ten- to fifteen-minute daily workout which employees of all ranks in the government offices take at twelve o'clock, just before eating their noonday meal.

The Japanese are ambitious and aggressive; the Formosan Chinese are good natured and easygoing. The general opinion seems to be that Japan will succeed in its policy of assimilation, although old-timers whisper that the Formosan temperament is outwardly docile, but inwardly rebellious, and often finds ways of getting what it wants



in spite of official regulations. This control by force, combined with the passive temperament of the people, makes open resistance extremely unlikely, but as one Formosan told the writer, "Many reforms are changes in outward appearance only. They do not transform the spirit within."

It is probable that many specially qualified Formosans who have accepted the "New Order" in Taiwan will find increasing opportunity to participate in the "reconstruction" of China under Japanese rule; for the Taiwan plan of administration may be extended to the mainland in pursuit of a "New Order" for South China.

*Youth movements.* The Japanese are laying great stress upon the various youth movements which are actively sponsored in Taiwan by the Government General and the local provincial governments. There are young men's associations, young women's associations, and Boy Scouts. These organizations aim to

train and drill youth spiritually and physically, to inculcate loyalty, to improve character as loyal subjects, to instill a spirit of public service, to encourage self-help, self-control and initiative, to increase knowledge and skill necessary for practical life, to encourage diligence and thrift, and to improve general health conditions of the nation.

The specific purpose of the young women's association (*Joshi Seinen Dan*), especially among Formosan Chinese, is "to encourage and propagate the use of the national language, to inculcate female virtue, to educate women in housekeeping, to improve home-life, to cultivate sentiments through recreation, to improve health conditions, and thus to train women in sound womanhood." The young women's movements, however, are far less active than the men's associations. The local territory covered by each association corresponds to a public school district. Young people under 20 years of age who are graduates of

public schools may join the youth movement. The young Formosan Chinese members are particularly interested in spreading the use of the Japanese language and in raising the Formosan standards of living. The young men are called upon to assist the police in traffic control during celebrations, to serve on watch duty or to run errands, and even to do hard manual labor, on occasion, when additional workers are needed.

The geographical position of Formosa and the ethnic factors in the overwhelming non-Japanese population are largely responsible for the determined drive of the Imperial government to assimilate the Formosans as speedily as possible.

## VALUATION AND DEMOCRATIC THINKING

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● *The challenge of present world disorder.* In a world of conflicting human groups violently asserting, as human ends, vast, diverse types of social order and insisting on inconsistent means of achieving them, naturally an urgent appeal is being made to sociology to provide more adequate light and leadership in dealing with the social ends involved.

Some students are apparently inclined to deny any obligation of sociology to indicate valid ends for the improvement of large human affairs. They are busy with highly specialized endeavors of mere description. But many students of society are awakening to the challenge of the world for help in dealing with the great, difficult social objectives of the day. In this work they are using a broad technique to include both critical examination of factual data and constructive reference to social standards.

In the presence of this challenge the question as to the truly scientific attitude, the truly effective method, that sociology is to employ has today become basic and urgent for adequate social control. In the world at large social science is not adequately meeting the demands upon it for interpretation and guidance. Physical science, with its longer history and its narrow specialization and abstraction from social problems as such, has been more successful in its field of interpreting and controlling physical phenomena. Social science generally is inclined to imitate this procedure and stick to mere description of phenomena as means, without reference to the human ends involved. An increasing appeal is properly being made to sociology to deal more effectively with this situation.

*The question raised as to method in sociology.* The appeal comes to sociology with particular force because, being the study of the organization and evolution, the forms and functions of human association, sociology is less specialized and abstracted from the question of the social or human means and ends than are the other social sciences. Sociology is compelled to study more comprehensively the concrete, practical, composite objectives of human behavior as they operate in the living community. For this reason sociology is being compelled to inquire more thoroughly into the nature of its own research technique and, back of that, into the more general basic procedure of human experience itself.

We shall have to concede, I think, some important particulars about valid social science method as presented by the "mere description" theory: (1) that the question is "the old, familiar question of ends and means"; and also (2) that science needs to maintain a factual attitude toward the phenomena it considers, undisturbed, as far as possible, by confusing emotions of valuation of the phenomena as means or ends of human endeavor. We surely need to avoid mere "wishful thinking"—thinking dominated by the emotional value of a fixed end. It is the case of the surgeon's being calm and factually intent on the operation without frustration by emotional sense of value of the end—the saving of the life of the patient.

But after conceding these points, are the following claims of the "mere description" argument true? (1) Is it true that the feeling of right, or sense of value of the end involved, should be, or even can be, in the interest of efficiency wholly excluded from scientific procedure? (2) Is it true that consideration of means can be as sharply separated from consideration of ends in *social science procedure* as is implied, for example, in the illustration of the

separateness of the United States and Canada?<sup>1</sup> Can the scientist not be—does he not need to be, to some extent—in both at the same time? (As for the United States and Canada, there seems actually to be an international union of the two in social experience.) (3) Is it true that ends, especially social ends, are merely opinions, unsupported or unverified by factual experience? What is the exact nature of ends and means?

We may best answer these questions by examining the basic procedure of all conscious, human behavior involving thinking. (The need of brevity will necessarily compel a somewhat dogmatic statement without much argument.)<sup>2</sup>

Human behavior or human life develops as a sequence of events in which organic union is essential for living functions. Thinking or judgment appears in it whenever the automatic functioning of the sequence is disturbed so as to interfere with the organized life and growth processes.

The appearance of thinking at the point of disturbance operates to make a readjustment in the sequence so as to reinstate the synthesis or union by a more comprehensive development of the living processes. This thinking is essentially a synthetic process. Every thought, every sentence consists of a subject and a predicate.

In thinking the attention is directed to the new, unfamiliar, and disturbing factor of the situation (the subject of the judgment), in the effort to relate it to, or place it in, the system of more familiar and more satisfactory

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<sup>1</sup> See statement by Earle Eubank in *The Ohio Valley Sociologist* for November, 1938.

<sup>2</sup> For more extended statement, see article by the present writer on "The Logic of the Sciences" in the *Monist*, October, 1919; John Dewey: *Essays in Experimental Logic*, pp. 97, 98, and 240; and "Evolutionary Method," in *Philosophical Review*, 2:121, 123, and 367; and, especially, Robert S. Lynd: *Knowledge for What?* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), Chapter V.



activities of past habitual experience (the predicate of the judgment).

The live, or operating, judgment thus always takes the form of the question, This is What? (or more exactly: This is becoming What?) in which "This" is the subject, the perceptual, immediate means, the challenging factor in experience to be identified; and "What" is the predicate, the conceptual, more immediate end, the controlling, identifying factor in experience. The "This" and the "What," the subject and the predicate, the percept and the concept, are both necessary in some degree of definiteness in every rational and effective human judgment, as Immanuel Kant long ago pointed out.

This view of the thinking process affirms (1) that subject and predicate, means and ends, are both inseparable factors in every judgment; (2) that the guiding influence of the sense of value of the end is always present in the selection and treatment of the means; (3) that means and end reciprocally modify each other in building a new synthesis of experience necessary to carry on the life processes; and (4) that any difference of procedure as between science and philosophy is only a difference of emphasis of attention respectively to the subject as means or to the predicate as end.

*The functional position of physical science, philosophy, and social science.* In this view, then, physical science takes the extreme, specialized view of the human scene. At any time it gives close attention to a very limited subject or means (for example, nature of matter and energy), most abstracted from human or social ends. It largely ignores the social ends. On that account physical science is definitely efficient in promoting human welfare within a very restricted area—that of the physical inventions and mechanical operations. But this, as we well know in war-time, guarantees no social welfare. Philosophy, on the

other hand, gives more attention to the social end factor of the judgment; and by a process of large generalizations attempts to bring order and consistency into the system of ideas making up the predicate forms, with a minimum of reference to the more immediate, sensory means. Social science (and particularly sociology) occupies a middle position between these two, with considerable and proportionate attention to both ends and means, being definitely conscious of the human values involved in the case of both factors.<sup>3</sup> Because of the current failure of the social sciences to grapple efficiently with the question of social ends as well as social means, it is significant that the engineers in convention councils have been considering whether the engineering profession should formulate a philosophy of social welfare.

*Nature and sequence of means and ends.* It is highly important for clarity in scientific procedure to observe that means and ends are not fixed factors in the course of human experience, but are changing factors in the sequence of life events; and that not all ends are equally comprehensive and important. The means of today becomes part of the end of tomorrow, and the end of tomorrow becomes expanded into the larger end of day after tomorrow. There are no absolute terms or values in this series. The frontier of human life continually advances. Knowledge forever pushes forward, but ever faces the unknown beyond, where faith, as the hope of the future, reasonably founded on the knowledge of the past, alone serves to guide the march of man into the unknown. This

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<sup>3</sup> See further the article by the present writer on "Scientific Method in Sociology" in the *American Journal of Sociology*, July, 1919; also Bertrand Russell on "The Role of the Intellectual in the Modern World," in *American Journal of Sociology*, January, 1939. He says (p. 491), "Technical change is blind and directionless, without a conception of the ends for which men should live." If all thinking is either implicitly or explicitly guided by a social end, who has more scientific authority to define and affirm the social end explicitly as right than has the sociologist? His study of the exact means and trends concerned would seem to qualify him to do so.

is true in every reflective act of man and every effort of science. The unknown is always involved and is taken on faith. Every predicate of the live, scientific judgment is a working hypothesis, a construction of an end as an act of faith in the reliability and worth of human processes. In fact, the working hypothesis is an effort to make a valid formulation of the true end. It is changed—true today but enlarged and improved tomorrow—to guide more effectively the growing union of mankind in the ever wider fellowship of the race.

It is at the point where the enlarging social end transcends knowledge and proceeds on faith that religion, the appeal and aspiration to the superhuman, enters the scene to guide human life.

These larger social ends of mingled knowledge and faith are not merely matters of private and individual valuation. In the narrow sense of mere feeling, of course, every value judgment is private and personal; but social ends, even as value judgments, are not merely private feeling. This is where many are mistaken today. Many seem to think the ends of life are mere sensations, kicks, private thrills. This is too narrow a conception of ends. These sensory indications of value are only the labels or signs of the true ends of life. The true, larger, social ends are the consciously appreciated human associations, characterized by loyalty, love, light, and fellowship. As socially experienced and affirmed by great masses of people, these larger, real ends of life are the guiding beacons, symbolized by the torch in the hand of the runner.

*The confused ideals of the new social order.* The greatest tragedy of our day is the conflict of the larger intellectual and emotional ends of life (in the form of the dreams of a new and better social order) held by great federations of disturbed, frightened, insecure, and aspiring human beings. They are the "isms" of our time, which

social science has not adequately studied or explained: Fascism, Nazism, communism, capitalism, socialism, yes, and democracy also. In all there is a tragic longing for a kind of totalitarianism that means genuine social union and justice, without the horrible dictatorships and exclusive privileges and brutal repressions that disgrace our time.<sup>4</sup>

I say that these conditions of human longing and confusion are the greatest challenge of our time to social science. Let us avoid bickering about words, stop hiding behind names, and advance courageously to the honest, co-operative, scientific study of both the means and the ends of man's life in the quest of a united world order. That this shared quest of the good life in the larger spirit of faith is religious nearly all these "isms" in some measure testify; but their means, involving division, aggression, and hatred, defeat their general end of union. They perpetuate disunion.

Their tragic failure to find the true social platform on which they can all agree is due, as I see it, to two facts: (1) the new complexities of the problem including the meagerness of our information about it and (2) the surviving gangster spirit of narrow group selfishness that attempts to grasp the satisfaction of some at the loss of others, who need to be included in the growing larger union. This today is causing a general reversion, to use Professor Sorokin's terms, toward an earlier, more sensate type of culture—a private, individual pursuit of pleasure in relatively blind thrills of sense, without due enlightenment of the more ideological culture type. The latter has begun to

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<sup>4</sup> It is the failure of higher education at this point (and especially the relative failure of social science) to clarify the social ends in their relation to observed means that is in part responsible for the sometimes exaggerated claims of leaders that more systematic attention be given to understanding the ends, the social predicates, of human experience.

come into the world more definitely with modern democracy and science.

*The social outlook and the democratic ideal.* In his book *Ends and Means* (p. 1) Aldous Huxley writes:

About the ideal goal of human effort there exists in our civilization and, for nearly thirty centuries, there has existed a very general agreement . . . the prophets have spoken with one voice. In the Golden Age to which they look forward there will be liberty, peace, justice and brotherly love. "Nation shall no more lift sword against nation"; "the free development of each will lead to the free development of all"; "the world shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea."

With regard to the goal, I repeat, there is and for long has been a very general agreement. Not so with regard to the roads which lead to that goal. Here unanimity and certainty give place to utter confusion, to the clash of contradictory opinions, dogmatically held and acted upon with the violence of fanaticism.

Men do not clearly see how the dogmatic adherence to the lesser ends of life for the sake of a group or individual advantage denies, in the long run, that any shall share securely in the better life. This narrow, intolerant adherence to the lesser union of special privileges is the dictatorial denial of that democratic way of life which has eternally been growing in the world. *Your* business and *my* business are becoming *our* business over wider areas. Democracy is just the organic union in which the capacities and needs of each member may have full opportunity for development and fulfillment, through their free public expression, in modifying the mandates and dogmas of authority. What these capacities and needs of life are each must be permitted freely to testify for himself if the leaders are to find the way to the larger union. This free testimony of the common man as to the immediate needs and means of the larger life has been emphasized, I repeat, by simultaneous advance of modern science and democracy. Today we must go on to elaborate these means into the broader path-



ways, the larger systems of free relations, in the light of those further ideals on which men agree.

Such an ideal of the democratic union, of the normal order of just reciprocal services, implies at least four simple conditions on which all sane men of good will can surely agree. They are: (1) for every child, a normal birth, liberal education, and healthy environment; (2) for every person, an income adequate to maintain him in the position of his best social service; (3) for every adult, a secure job adapted to his abilities; and (4) for every person, such information and influence with the authorities that his needs and ideas receive due consideration by them.

## YUGOSLAVS IN SAN PEDRO, CALIFORNIA ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL FACTORS

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● A study of the Yugoslavs in San Pedro proves an interesting one for two reasons: the people themselves have a definite culture and personality, and their numbers in this locality—a conservative estimate places the figure including children at 12,000—make their presence definitely felt in the community.

In order to understand these people better it is helpful to recall their European background. The population of Yugoslavia is comprised of three groups of people: Serbs, Croats, and Slovenians. Before the World War the Serbs were under the rule of the Turks, while the Slovenians and the Croats were under Austrian control. There is no great language difference between these groups, and, although the Serbs helped overthrow Austria and so gained political power of the country when Yugoslavia was formed, at present the outstanding group difference is of a religious rather than of a political nature. The Croats and Slovenians are Roman Catholics, while the Serbs belong to the Orthodox Church. There are also some million and a half Mohammedans composed of some from each of the three groups. It is the Slovenian group who form the bulk of the population both in western Yugoslavia and in San Pedro.

The Slovenians in San Pedro came from the islands and coastal towns of that part of Yugoslavia called Dalmatia on the Adriatic Sea, particularly the islands of Vis, Korcula, Hvar, Brac, and from the coastal towns of Split and Crkrenia.

They came to this country years ago, either to escape four years' service in the Austrian navy, the round of political oppression, the denial of na-

tional liberty, or the slavery of economic subordination. Hardship of a kind, mingled with ideas and ideals of a new land, sent them across the Atlantic.<sup>1</sup>

There are no data telling us when the first Yugoslavs came to San Pedro. However, it is believed that the first settlement took place in 1890, when a few of this hardy race drifted down the coast. They had been fishermen for generations, always following the fish, and had gone from their native islands in Dalmatia to Alaska, from Alaska to Puget Sound, and from there had come to San Pedro. Some few additional settlements were made after the Alaskan gold rush in 1898; otherwise, there was little change in San Pedro until 1917, when Peter Dragnich, Sr., arriving from Seattle, revolutionized the tuna-fishing industry by introducing to the few hundred of his countrymen there the first large boat for tuna fishing. In 1919 men began to come in great numbers, forsaking their salmon grounds along the Columbia River and the coast of Alaska to come south. During the years 1921-1930 between five and six thousand people arrived in San Pedro and vicinity, over two thousand of whom came directly from Yugoslavia, while between the years 1930-1940 the number increased to twelve thousand.

Industry, ambition, optimism, and honesty characterized the group then as now. Hardy, but not stolid, they are rather inclined to accept others at their worth. They are a light-hearted, social-minded, and home-loving people whose main interest is the welfare of their families and the future of their children and who, most of all, are the very soul of hospitality.

The old definite economic trend among them has lasted to the present time. Ninety-five per cent of the Yugoslavs

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<sup>1</sup> N. S. Nator, *Los Angeles Times*. Reprinted in *Fishermen's Almanac*, San Pedro, California, 1935, p. 9.

are engaged in fishing or in some related occupation, 75 per cent being engaged in actual fishing, usually of the purse seine type. These completely dominate the industry.

Tuna and sardines comprise the main catches. The largest quantities of tuna are caught in the Mexican waters and the Gulf of California because of the migration of fish and the warmer water. However, fishing boundaries extend much farther, with trips being made as far as Peru to the south and Siberia to the north. Fishing for sardines and some mackerel is done nearer home. The coast which extends from San Francisco to San Diego is considered the most lucrative locale.

The trips to Peru consume from four to five months, with two hundred tons of tuna being the expected catch. When trips are made to Mexico, enough food and fuel for a month are taken; the cost of the trip is between two and three thousand dollars, and a catch of sixteen or seventeen tons of tuna is anticipated. Trips of a week or so are taken for sardines.

The fishing operation is done in a collective manner, whether in the Mexican waters or locally, with groups of two or more boats making the trips together. This procedure provides the advantages of safety and of having enough boat space for packing the fish.

Whereas twenty years ago the boats used cost two to three thousand dollars, today they represent \$25,000 to \$80,000 investments. These modern boats vary in length from 75 to 110 feet, from 150 to 400 horsepower, and in speed from 8 to 10 knots. They have sleeping quarters, kitchens where eleven can eat at a table, and radio-telephones which can call boats within a radius of 500 miles when fish are sighted. The nets used, valued between five and six thousand dollars when new, are approximately 300 fathoms long with a depth of 30 fathoms, the length at the base of the net being about 270 fathoms. Ten or eleven

men, besides the captain, make the shorter trips, while thirteen or fourteen men and the captain are required for the longer ones.

All boat owners are members of one of the fishermen's co-operative associations of which there are three in San Pedro: one for Japanese, one for Italians, and one for Slavs. The last, which received its state charter in 1927, is the largest, having ninety-two members, each of whom fulfills the requirements of being a boat owner and either an American-born or naturalized American citizen. The association does all the negotiating for contracts for fish and regulates conditions and prices specified in the contracts.

Every man used on the crews must be a member of the United Fishermen Union of the Pacific (C.I.O.), which has twelve thousand members of all nationalities. However, the Yugoslavs much prefer to have their crews made up entirely of their own people.

On the average boat any profit made is divided into approximately sixteen and one-half portions, or shares. The owner of the boat gets from 30 to 40 per cent of the total number, depending upon the size of the boat. Each member of the crew and the skipper have a share, and sometimes the owner of the net is allowed one. If a catch is made, the proceeds from the sale of the fish are divided according to the share rates previously agreed upon for that particular boat. The crew shares with the boat owner all expenses taken out of the gross amount of the catch if there is a catch. If the boat goes in debt, all carry the debt until they make a lucky catch to pay for this debt. There is, of course, no guarantee that any particular trip will be successful, and large profits and catches that one may hear quoted are the exceptions rather than the rule. However, although he has no regular monthly income, the average fisherman nets between \$1,500 and \$2,000 per year.



The actual fishing is but one side of the economic picture. Yugoslavs have prospering related businesses. Several of the canneries on Terminal Island: French Sardine, South Coast Fisheries, Inc., and the Franco-Italian Packing Company, are partly or wholly owned by Yugoslavs, as is the Harbor Boat Building Company. The Fisherman's Bank, the largest in San Pedro, is likewise presided over by a Yugoslav. The busy harbor commerce has opened the way for shipbuilders, ship chandlers, and customhouse brokers. Others own fish markets and grocery stores, or are independent fish peddlers who sell to Los Angeles and Pasadena markets and restaurants. Also, both men and women are employed as cannery workers, and many single Yugoslav girls, especially those able to do only unskilled labor, resort to this distasteful type of work. Most of the fishermen would like to have their sons enter another occupational field, and they give them the best education that the family can afford so that they will have fishing *and* something else. It is felt that the former is always there to fall back upon when necessary.

The thrift of the people has already been cited, and in this connection it is interesting to note that 90 per cent of the fishermen own their own homes, which are a source of great pride to them. While a binding class distinction does not exist as such, usual economic variations set up barriers; and the poorer class, as the cannery workers, living between the harbor and the business district, is in no way able to approach the standards set up by the more prosperous boat owners and business men who have built homes in the hills behind the town.

With respect to language habits, the parents can speak some English but are uniform in their use of the Yugoslavian language among themselves, while to their children they address a dialect of Yugoslavian unconsciously tinged occasionally with English phrases. However, the

children speak only English among themselves; and, though they can understand, only about one half are able to converse extensively with their elders in the native tongue. Between 10 and 15 per cent of the students attending the local high school are of Yugoslavian descent. Various attempts have been made there to start a Yugoslavian club, but the second generation has not displayed the interest in this that has been shown for other school activities. Racial distinctions appear to be disregarded by the students. The Yugoslav children, who are very good mixers, have participated in most school activities, distinguishing themselves in scholarship, leadership, and athletics.

To combat this growing indifference for things Yugoslavian, a language school was started in 1935 by an interested Yugoslav leader. Classes for beginning and advanced students were begun and at present are held two afternoons a week in the local library. There are now about thirty-seven students in attendance, although the number was larger when evening classes were held. The aims of the teacher are to offer instruction in the language itself and also to acquaint his own people with the culture values that their race has brought to America.

Yugoslavs have their own recreational interests. Gatherings in private homes are very frequent, for the people prefer to meet and talk and sing Yugoslavian folk songs than to attend most American commercial entertainments. The center of the public activities is the Yugoslav Hall, a \$50,000 investment, built in 1935 by the Yugoslav Club of San Pedro. This club, composed of men over twenty-one, is the largest of many Yugoslav organizations. It was incorporated in 1927 and has about two hundred and twenty-five members. Various programs and dances are held throughout the year, including a banquet and dance in December celebrating the unification of Yugoslavia

and a New Year's dance, which always draws about twelve hundred people. Other Yugoslav organizations include the Yugoslav Women's Club, a social organization; Velike Gospe, an organization of Yugoslavian women connected with the Catholic Church; and the Croatian Fraternal Union, a benevolent society found throughout Canada and the United States. Also in connection with the Yugoslav Men's Club there is the Junior Tamburitza Club.<sup>2</sup>

Strong parental control is exercised over the girls especially, as may be evidenced at the dances. Whole families attend, and the mothers remain throughout the evening and accompany their daughters home when the latter are ready to leave. Dates as known among Americans are not the custom.

The girls marry at an early age, the marriage being more a case of family-marrying-family than an individual matter. It is preferred that the girls do not marry "American" boys, and, where a girl has such contacts, conflicts may arise. Usually, if a man is interested in a girl, he calls at the house and may seek to make arrangements with the elders shortly afterward. Perhaps he is from another city but has heard of the girl through friends, who in turn secure for him an introduction to her parents. The immediate purpose of both parties is to establish a home and settle down, and those concerned are serious minded and have high moral standards; therefore, these marriages are successful. As 99 per cent of the people are deep-rooted Catholics, there are practically no divorces or religious conflicts between parents and children.

Every Yugoslavian girl makes elaborate plans for her wedding. It is a day filled with festivity, and the days immediately preceding are devoted to the preparation of the

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<sup>2</sup> The tamburitza is a Yugoslavian stringed instrument, somewhat similar to, but larger than, a banjo. The youngsters play in groups and give programs during each year.

reception menu, which includes varieties of meats, vegetables, and hundreds of native pastries. The ceremony is conducted at a morning Mass and followed by a breakfast for the bridal party at the bride's home. The couple remain all day and throughout the reception given that evening in the home of the bride or in the Yugoslav Hall. The guest list usually reaches the two-hundred mark and is frequently twice that, with each person being served an elaborate six- or seven-course dinner supplemented with various wines. The festivities end about midnight, shortly before which time the bride and bridegroom disappear.

Most of the older people would like to return to Europe for a visit, and some of the women, especially, talk of a trip they some day hope to take, but they do not consider leaving this country permanently. They say, "What should I do there? My children are born here. How could I take them away from their native land? Then this is my country too and so many of my relatives and countrymen are here."<sup>3</sup> So, although a fragment of their thoughts lingers perpetually about never-to-be-forgotten Dalmatia, the adults set about the practical task of making their children good American citizens.

The importance of this self-supporting and independent group to the community should not be underestimated. They set an example of fine home and family life. In spite of the fact that those who immigrated here were for the most part from the lower economic group, there is practically no criminal element among them.

The low rate of criminality among Yugoslav immigrants can be explained by the structure and character of the communities. Coming mainly from the rural regions of Dalmatia, Croatia, Herzegovina, and other provinces of Yugoslavia, they were able to preserve for decades the patriarchal character of their communities in America, characterized by the large family, intimacy of family life, close relationship to other Yugoslav

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<sup>3</sup> N. S. Nazor, *Los Angeles Times*. Reprinted in *Fishermen's Almanac*, San Pedro, California, 1935, p. 9.

groups, preservation of tradition, and simple moral rules. The isolated character of their settlements helped them to avoid many of the troubles arising out of the interrelations and interdependence in an urbanized, competitive, and rationalized world . . . Rather than an isolated individual, the Yugoslav immigrant is a member of a larger community, with responsibilities and unwritten rules he has to follow.<sup>4</sup>

The culture patterns of Yugoslavia under whose influence all of the present adults were raised were very different from ours. This naturally makes immediate assimilation difficult. However, they have made many adjustments thus far, and great changes may be expected to occur within the next generation.

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<sup>4</sup> Nicholas Mirkowich, "Yugoslavs and Criminality," *Sociology and Social Research*, 25:28-34, September-October, 1940.



## A DIFFERENTIAL THEORY OF CRIMINALITY

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● This paper is inspired by Professor E. H. Sutherland's presentation of his theory of criminality.<sup>1</sup> The purpose here is to question certain aspects of this theory and to supplement it at various points. The concept of "differential association" provides the keynote to his theory and is expressed essentially in the proposition that "the chance that a person will participate in systematic criminal behavior is determined roughly by the frequency and consistency of his contacts with the patterns of criminal behavior."<sup>2</sup>

The adequacy of this theory is impaired by Sutherland's failure (1) to define what he means by *systematic* criminal behavior and *consistency* of contacts, (2) to take into account the important qualitative aspect of the meaning that these contacts have for the individual associates, (3) to explain why individuals associate *differentially* with one another, (4) to make clear why criminals who do associate together commit different types and quantities of crime and even employ different techniques, and (5) to explain why some individuals who are exposed to criminal patterns do not become "systematic" criminal offenders.

The mere exposition to patterns of criminal behavior does not automatically result in criminal activity. The reaction will vary with different individuals. The reason for this may be explored with the concepts of *individual basic personality patterns* and *ways of satisfying needs*. Human

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<sup>1</sup> E. H. Sutherland, *Principles of Criminology* (Chicago: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1939), Chapter I.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

beings are born with differential capacities and certain needs and drives.<sup>3</sup> Each individual as he develops from a child into an adult strives through the learning process to satisfy these needs and drives. This involves the acquisition and utilization of various means which are dictated for the most part by the cultural pattern. The means that are socially acceptable vary from time to time, from place to place, and from stratum to stratum, depending upon the degree of solidarity, crystallization, and complexity in the social order.

In any given social order there exist many approved ways for the satisfaction of certain needs and for the attainment of certain goals. Accessibility to these ways implies conformity to the cultural norms. Decreased availability or knowledge of these approved ways implies recourse to other (nonconforming) modes of behavior in order to satisfy needs. In this way originate socially unacceptable behavior and criminal activity. In our modern competitive industrial society, wealth, because it is a symbol of power and status, is a very important and valid goal; but because it is not available to many individuals, it is sought by some through illegal methods which often result in crime. The inhabitant of a delinquency area has little opportunity of gaining wealth (not to mention earning a living). Hence, in order to satisfy his needs, both material and prestige, he *may* resort to criminal activity. In fact, activity which is considered as definitely illegal and criminal in the general cultural pattern may be regarded as acceptable in the delinquency area. In such a setting the inhabitant may be engaged in crime—judged from the wider pattern—without a corresponding meaning to him. This individual has certain needs. When these needs can be satisfied through the normal channels, he will utilize them under normal conditions. When his ef-

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<sup>3</sup> The nature of these needs and drives is too complex for discussion here.

forts to achieve satisfactions are frustrated or blocked by these acceptable norms, he will resort to the most expedient means of satisfying his needs, namely, unacceptable behavior. People have to do what they do and do what they have to do.

As was pointed out above, the inhabitant of a delinquency area may or may not resort to criminal activity. In fact, not all inhabitants of delinquency areas are criminal. Somehow even under adverse conditions some individuals residing in a delinquency area never become involved in criminality. Either the threat of punishment is sufficiently inhibitory or the socially acceptable norms are somehow more satisfying than criminal patterns. However, each case is distinct and individual and always involves a person with certain needs as he reacts toward his immediate environment. According to Cantor, "the differentials of behavior depend on external accidental circumstances, inherent differences in basic personality patterns, and the manner in which we react to the environment."<sup>4</sup>

Of those who do become criminal offenders, in accordance with Sutherland's theory, most do so through (but not essentially because of) their associations with criminal patterns of behavior. The well-known studies of Shaw and Thrasher are obvious illustrations of how delinquent activity is learned and fostered through association. After all, major patterns of behavior are formed through participation in social relationships. As Sutherland states, the process involved is the same as that involved in learning normal patterns. When these relationships are organized for the purpose of criminal activity, the newcomer's chances of participating in crime are naturally somewhat increased; but there cannot be neglected the basic personality pattern of the newcomer, what he is striving to express, and what criminal contacts *mean* to him.

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<sup>4</sup> Nathaniel Cantor, "The Social Treatment of the Adult Offender," *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 31:31, May-June, 1940.

As important as the actual number of contacts (if not more so) are the attitudes that the participants bring with them toward the patterns of criminal behavior and the meaning that further participation has for them. Without this factor Sutherland's theory implies that those who come into frequent contact with criminals, including wardens, guards, and members of classification staffs, would tend to become criminals themselves. Now the theory of differential association becomes more comprehensive when there is added to the *frequency* of contacts the *meaning* that the contacts have for the participants. This is a subjective element, which, nevertheless, can be obtained by an analysis of the prevalent cultural patterns plus individual case studies.<sup>5</sup> The meaning of these contacts is largely conditioned by the ways in which individuals satisfy their needs. Of two brothers living in a delinquency area, one may satisfy his need for recognition by successful school work, while the other because of intellectual deficiencies may find his satisfactions in daring exploits of theft. For the first, criminal patterns may be something definitely to be avoided; for the second, merely an easy means of gaining satisfactions. Of course, individual differences play an important role in the selection or determination of the ways of satisfying needs. Perhaps the boy who did not resort to delinquency was easily able to obtain his satisfactions in school by virtue of his superior intelligence. Some individuals will find it easier or more natural to associate with certain types of criminals. But the mere existence of, or exposition to, criminal patterns (although favoring imitation) does not necessarily imply participation in criminal activity. Hence, differential association can be said to be one factor in the sequence of criminality.

The importance of this factor varies from case to case. In high delinquency areas it would appear to be strong.

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<sup>5</sup> The various studies of Healy and Bronner and social case work records bring this out.

For certain types of crime such as rape, arson, and even some thefts, it would appear to be weak. Rapists and arsonists as a rule do not associate with "birds of the same feather." The writer has interviewed in a prison many farmers who stole cattle and farming implements from their neighbors without any apparent or discernible association with criminal patterns. There are other inmates who, after having been subjected to intensive and frequent criminal contacts within prison walls, desist from further criminal activity upon release.<sup>6</sup> As an example of how a certain situation may affect differential association, Sutherland gives the following:

Parents who insist that their boy return home immediately after school and who are able to enforce this regulation may prevent the boy from coming into frequent contact with delinquents even though the family resides in a high delinquency area.<sup>7</sup>

But Sutherland assumes that this boy will not become delinquent through the restraining influence of his parents. However, is it not quite possible for this same boy to become delinquent through this very factor of restraint without the presence of the element of differential association? May he not feel so bitter against his parents that he may steal from them or manifest other deviate symptoms? And, if successful, could he not elaborate upon these acts without learning from others?

In the causality of crime, differential association is but one variant factor and not a direct cause.

In seeking for the causes of crime we must not confuse the search for the material conditions which provide the setting for crime with the psychological drives of the individual which lead him to criminal activity.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> If it should be suggested that their frequency of contacts decreases upon release, then why is it that the offender who becomes hardened through long association with criminal patterns and incarceration develops upon release into a predatory lone wolf?

<sup>7</sup> Sutherland, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

<sup>8</sup> Cantor, *op. cit.*, p. 30.



Individuals are different and their ways of satisfying their needs are different. For this reason they associate *differentially*. The exposition to criminal patterns of behavior promotes criminal activity only when noncriminal behavior is inaccessible or less satisfying and when the criminal patterns assume definite psychological meanings. The criminal patterns vary in their effect according to who presents them, the type of activity condoned, the previous attitudes toward such activity, and the present personality pattern.

### REJOINDER

EDWIN H. SUTHERLAND

● A reply to Leader's paper must be brief and therefore dogmatic; even so, it may clarify certain points. First, the concept of "systematic criminality" was introduced for convenience only; because of the difficulty of defining "systematic," it has proved not to be convenient and may better be abandoned; in that case the hypothesis should extend to all criminal behavior. Second, "consistency" refers to the delinquent or nondelinquent character of behavior; association with delinquent patterns only or with nondelinquent patterns only would be completely consistent association. Third, two problems may be differentiated: one is how associations determine delinquency; the other is how associations are determined. The difference between these problems is roughly similar to the difference between a description of the law of falling bodies and a description of the conditions under which a body begins to fall, as by being pushed off the edge of a bridge or dropped from a tree. Most of the "factors" in delinquency are explanations of associations rather than of delinquency as such; this is true of individual differences in strength, temperament, mental ability, emotional disturbances,



color of skin, economic status, place of residence, and many other variables. Fourth, the hypothesis of differential association is presented as an explanation of criminal behavior, not merely as a description of the setting of criminal activity. The author presents the same idea in his fourth paragraph when discussing behavior in general. Fifth, one of the two basic propositions in the hypothesis is that contact with delinquent patterns is necessary in the initiation of delinquent behavior in a person; persons do not inherit delinquency or invent it except on the basis of prior experiences with delinquency. Leader seems to accept this proposition. He seems to disagree only on the second basic proposition, which describes the conditions under which such association results in delinquency. Sixth, "mere exposition to patterns of criminal behavior" does "automatically result in criminal behavior," provided the person is physically able to practice the criminal behavior and provided this "exposition" is long continued and consistent. This is demonstrated by the fact that children reared in a community in which English is the only language learn the English language rather than some other language. This, of course, is "automatic" only in the sense in which that word is used here by Leader. Prison guards have relatively little contact with criminal activity, for prisoners do not engage much in criminal activity while in prison or even talk with prison guards about criminal activities. The prison guards do, however, assimilate a considerable amount of criminal culture in other respects.

In modern life every person has both criminal and noncriminal patterns of behavior impinging upon him. If the character of his behavior in extreme cases is determined by variables in associations, his behavior in this more complex situation should be determined similarly by variables in associations. Frequency and consistency are

two of these variables. These variables have not been defined precisely and have not been measured. If they were measured precisely, they would almost certainly not prove to be a sufficient explanation; other variables in association must be added. The author proposes "meaning" as one of the variables that should be added. Is this a desirable addition?

For purposes of this theory it is not a desirable addition. First, to a considerable extent the meaning of delinquent behavior is determined by the frequency and consistency of the associations with delinquent behavior, and therefore to that extent it duplicates rather than supplements them. It and some other variables should therefore be substituted for frequency rather than added to it. Second, "meaning" as used by Leader seems to have its setting in the frustration-compensation theory of the psychiatrists. This theory is unsatisfactory because it provides no valid basis for regarding one act as a substitute for another; the theory insists that one act is not a substitute for another in terms of the conscious evaluations of the person, and it must therefore fall back either on the instinct theory or on ethical evaluations. Furthermore, this theory does not explain why delinquent behavior is substituted rather than legitimate behavior, which might and frequently does have the same "meaning." This is the essence of the problem, and the frustration-compensation theory has a complete gap there. Leader's only suggestion is that delinquent behavior is used as a substitute because it is "expedient," which is no explanation at all.

## THE CONCEPT OF CULTURE IN SOCIAL CASE WORK

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- Culture has been variously defined, but the core of the concept in scientific parlance remains the same, namely, the sum total of objects and ways of doing things acquired by man as a distinctly human animal. As Lowie has said:

In the scientific sense "culture" does not mean unusual refinement or education, but the whole of social tradition. It includes, as the great anthropologist Tylor put it, "capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society."<sup>1</sup>

Man, shorn by evolutionary processes of automatic instinctive responses for meeting his environment, has created, through the generalized capacities with which he is born, methods for dealing with his environment, and these in totality constitute his generic culture. The basis for culture would appear to be an inborn capacity to create and utilize symbols. Symbols are objects in which the meaning is not inherent or intrinsic, but to which it has been ascribed. Meanings are thus given to objects by man. The whole of man's social heritage is a product of this symbol-using capacity.

Animals below man, lacking this symbol-using capacity, are devoid of culture. Instinctual equipment, or simple conditioned responses, suffices to allow these creatures adjustment to the environment. They respond to environmental stimuli as their biology dictates them to act. Not

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<sup>1</sup> Robert H. Lowie, *An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1940), p. 3. A British trained sociologist used the term differently. MacIver calls it: "An end in itself . . ." ". . . the realm of final valuations." R. M. MacIver, *Society: A Textbook of Sociology* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1937), p. 272 ff. This, however, is not its most widely accepted usage, and not the way the term is here used.

so man. But since culture functions for man as biology functions for animals below man, culture may be viewed as "human biologics." It does for man what biology does for nonman.<sup>2</sup>

Each ethnic group has created, or has utilized, specific symbols; it has assigned meanings to distinct objects in the environment. Such symbols have been articulated, each with the next, so as to fashion methods which satisfy needs arising out of existence. When such specific symbols are consistently articulated one with another in distinctive ways, they constitute "cultural patterns," and within each ethnic group cultural patterns have been constructed and are present as operative devices for defining and orientating ways of doing things. Thus, not only is the behavior of the individual patterned by the norms of his culture, but culture as a thing *sui generis* has operative patterns within it. When an ethnic group is immersed in an area containing a predominantly different culture, conflict between culture patterns occurs.

In the study of a culture group—we assume that while cultural uniqueness does not disappear, a multiplicity of standards, varying in extent and intensity with the age-groupings is inevitable. With the adoption of new standards, of new habits of thought and action, a certain imbalance tends to occur; tensions and unrest begin to manifest themselves and social and personal problems begin to develop.<sup>3</sup>

The overt forms of man's behavior are cultural forms, and to a large extent man behaves as a creature of culture and as the norms of his culture require him to act.<sup>4</sup> Not only is behavior normally stylized by culture, but aberrant tendencies also have their roots in that phenomenon.

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<sup>2</sup> B. Malinowski, "Culture," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 4:621 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Pauline V. Young, *Scientific Social Surveys and Research* (New York: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1939), p. 420.

<sup>4</sup> Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1934), Chapter I.

When we focus our attention on the actual neurotic difficulties we recognize that neuroses are generated not only by incidental individual experiences, but also by the specific cultural conditions under which we live. *In fact the cultural conditions not only lend weight and color to the individual experiences but in the last analysis determine their particular form.*<sup>5</sup> [Italics mine.]

A goal of case work, shorn by other theoretic justifications, is that of attempting by technique, knowledge, and skill to rehabilitate individuals or groups to the end of "normality." The very idea of normality in a functioning society implies behavior adequate for adjustment to most situations. But what is conceived to be normality in American life is culturally defined, and its form and content are conditioned by cultural values.

The conception of what is normal varies not only with the culture but also within the same culture, in the course of time. . . . The conception of normality varies also with different classes of society, . . . that there are, however, variations not only in customs but also in drives and feelings is less generally understood, though implicitly or explicitly it has been stated by anthropologists.<sup>6</sup>

In dealing with immigrant families, or with immigrant groups, therefore, full consideration must be given to the tenacious patterns of the retained cultures, to "normality" in its relations with the class and section within which the family or group operates. Only when both aspects of this cultural framework are consciously taken into account can fruitful case work be done.

Because of the fact that cultural patterns provide definitions for conduct, the efforts of case workers in rehabilitating toward what is conceived to be the norm or standard must ultimately take the course of inculcation of new and "desired" cultural values. Empirical observation has shown that such inculcation is not ordinarily a rapidly

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<sup>5</sup> Karen Horney, *The Neurotic Personality of Our Time* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1937), p. viii.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

realized end. It is a deliberate matter which cannot be achieved by a "forced draft" method, and it would appear that assimilation is largely not a conscious but an unconscious process. The fact that "forcing" a people to accept a language or a culture other than their own has yet to be achieved is well known from European experience.<sup>7</sup>

How then is the inculcation of cultural values, which are considered by the worker as "desirable," to be achieved? This question can best be answered in the light of existing knowledge of how the individual comes to possess a culture and how he comes to behave in a cultural manner.

Each new individual is born into a cultural milieu, and his behavior is patterned in accord with this condition. The major institution for molding the child to his culture is the family.

Cultural heritage through the family is two fold, though the dividing line between these two aspects is not altogether sharp. First, the family is an instrument for shaping personality in the children, for determining, for instance, whether the child is to be timid, honest, conservative or otherwise. Second, it is also a means for passing on the content of the social heritage, for transmitting the knowledge of the ways of doing things, that does not enter so intimately into the character, such for instance as the transmission of the knowledge of language, or of how to work.<sup>8</sup>

Culture, then, is meaningful for behavior; and the most fundamental social institution, the family, is the primary transmitter of culture. It is not, however, the only agency of transmission, for the "function of passing on the content of the social heritage . . . the family shares with other institutions," one of which is the school.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1924), p. 771.

<sup>8</sup> Margaret E. Rich, Ed., *Family Life Today* (Cambridge: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1928); Chapter II, W. F. Ogburn, "Social Heritage and the Family," p. 25.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30.



The culture of the family for its adult members is a different thing from the culture of the family for its infant members. A commonplace observation in this regard is that immigrant groups retain aspects of the culture of the region from which they come and, on settling in this country, tend to assimilate the values of the new culture which confronts them, differentially according to generation. In the Southwest, where Mexicans often live in colonies of their own people, the assimilation process may be decidedly slow, and conflicts of patterns be mediated by the fact of numerical strength.

The adult Mexican immigrant carries into the San Antonio environment a great deal of his pueblo cultural values to which he clings with a tenacity distressing to those who realize the weakness in his position incurred by this lack of adjustment. The younger generation, on the other hand, experiences an entirely different pull. For one thing in the school system the Mexican child is confronted with a different culture pattern urged upon him by an almost pathetic reverence and devotion towards the teacher. A second pull comes from actually seeing that culture operate in the dominant group. . . . This contrast soon generates a conflict between two culture patterns and hence between the older and the younger generations.<sup>10</sup>

In Detroit assimilation might be more rapid. One persistent case of conflict between husband and wife had at its basis the struggle on the wife's part to adopt American ways for herself and her home, while her Mexican husband demanded that she accept the subordinate role of the typical Mexican woman. A psychiatric examination of the man resulted in an acknowledgement of the cultural factors as to some degree determinative of conduct and conflict.

Mr. P. "shows no symptoms of mental disease," and has a low average intelligence. "We find him to be definitely inadequate and assaultive; there is a question of reliability and a question of alcoholism. There is

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<sup>10</sup> Max Handman, "San Antonio, City of Mexican Life and Influence," *Survey*, 66: May 1, 1931, p. 165.

undoubtedly some sexual maladjustment. *Because of his attitude as expressed with reference to cultural conflicts on a social level, this patient will probably do better in Mexico where he is anxious to return.*"<sup>11</sup> [Italics mine.]

The cultural factors are not always taken into account. Mary Austin records a failure to perceive the cultural character of behavior by nurses among Mexicans. During a pneumonia epidemic in New Mexico, nurses from other states were called in to care for the sick.

One of the nurses, . . . complained to me that in the little mountain towns she had always the greatest difficulty, in keeping her patients warm through the night. In vain she tried to have wood enough cut. . . . Two or three times she would have to rouse one . . . to cut . . . armfuls. No one complained of this necessity; wood is always cut as is needed and in no other fashion. Her American interpretation was the people were careless and lazy. But this was not borne out by more intimate knowledge.<sup>12</sup>

It is within the realm of the problems noted above that the concept of culture has import for social case work, and for family case work in particular. Why then, specifically, is a knowledge of, and a feeling for, the concept of culture in all of its implications meaningful for social case work?

A knowledge by the case worker of the fact that conduct is patterned by culture, and that within culture there exist patterns, will tend to give a framework of reference for the explanation of behavior. With particular regard to immigrant groups, conduct which is unlike the expectations for behavior from case workers (whose only cultural milieu is likely to have been that of a section of the United States, and to whom other cultural behavior stands out as "abnormal") will tend to be explained through reference to the fact of culture.

<sup>11</sup> Dr. Lowell S. Selling, City of Detroit Recorder's Court Psychopathic Clinic: diagnostic letter of Nov. 20, 1937, contained in Detroit Department of Public Welfare Case No. D 21313.

<sup>12</sup> Mary Austin, "Mexicans and New Mexico," *Survey*, 66: May 1, 1931, p. 144.

The knowledge that culture conditions and patterns behavior and that social conflict (i.e., interpersonal) may be a reflection of the struggle between patterns (i.e., between definitions and sanctions for ways of doing things) should be an explicit part of the case worker's knowledge and equipment. If this heuristic tool were more widely and explicitly extant in social case work, the worker in approaching situations (those, e.g., arising out of the conflict of generations) would be less inclined to make a directly frontal and individually psychological attack on problems wherein such conflict is basic. Realizing that cultural values are not ordinarily consciously considered by the individuals concerned, he would approach such problems by indirection and skillfully attempt to make explicit in the minds of his clients what the cultural aspects of the bases for conflict were. More than this, he should have tolerance for divergence of form; for intolerance, which tends to result in a frontal attack on the problem, will be less effective than a tolerant and temporary retreat.

We have not meant to imply that social workers generally are ignorant of this concept, but rather that the concept has importance which is not generally recognized. The failure of workers to take cultural factors into full account was recently voiced in the *Social Study of Pittsburgh*,<sup>13</sup> and Florence Cassidy says much the same thing in her *Social Work Yearbook* article. The program of work with immigrant groups, she says, "in its entirety cuts across functional groupings such as casework and group work and endeavors to make social workers in all fields more *critically conscious of cultural factors*."<sup>14</sup> [Italics mine.]

<sup>13</sup> Phillip Klein and Collaborators, *A Social Study of Pittsburgh* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), p. 251 ff. The individual primarily responsible for this section is Mary E. Hurlbutt. See her *New Americans in Allegheny County* (New York, The New York School of Social Work, 1937).

<sup>14</sup> Florence Cassidy, "Immigrants and Their Children," *Social Work Yearbook*, 1939 (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1939).

A critical awareness of the concept of culture, however, would involve its consideration with regard not only to the immigrant segment of the population but rather to all individuals with whom social workers come in contact.

Finally, it may be said that the concept of culture has significance for social case-work treatment, since therapy cannot proceed until some diagnosis is explicit. In achieving diagnosis the cultural factors in a situation may come to be considered as complex causal elements rather than merely as simple passive factors. Culture is possible, therefore, to be of larger import in the determination of social problems than is usually supposed. Because assimilation by groups of new cultural values is a long-time affair, the case worker needs to be tolerant of the forms which are present, despite the fact that they are widely different from his own. Furthermore, he must realize relative to his own values that he himself is acting largely as his culture and the patterns within it dictate him to act. A knowledge, then, of the concept of culture will tend to make for greater tolerance on the case worker's part in viewing cultural behavior, and in observing cultural forms, and this of itself will go far toward preventing the malorientation of procedure in rehabilitating the client.

## PORTUGUESE ASSIMILATION IN HAWAII AND CALIFORNIA

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● Although Portuguese explorers are known to have charted the California coast in the sixteenth century, it was not until the gold rush of 1849 that a number came to California to remain.<sup>1</sup> The Homestead Act of 1865 and the subsequent population movement westward brought others, especially around the turn of the century. In addition, two thousand came from Hawaii between the years 1911 and 1914, owing to poor working conditions and low wages on Island plantations.<sup>2</sup>

Portuguese coming to California—whether from their native lands: the Azores, Madeira Islands, and Portugal; or by way of Hawaii or Massachusetts—were mostly farmers and artisans, striving to improve their socioeconomic lot. Their homelands were poverty torn, overpopulated, and controlled by the aristocracy. Working conditions in Hawaii were not always the best. Then, too, the pioneer spirit brought many a Portuguese immigrant westward to seek gold, or simply land and a home on the frontier.

Between the years 1899 and 1910 more than 70,000 Portuguese came to the United States, increasing the Portuguese population of the country to more than 130,000.<sup>3</sup> This also was a period of heaviest Portuguese immigration to Hawaii. A reciprocity treaty between the United States and Hawaii let sugar flow into the United States

<sup>1</sup> Celestino Soares, *California and the Portuguese*, monograph (Lisbon: S P N Books, 1939), pp. 9, 59.

<sup>2</sup> *The Honolulu Advertiser*, December 30, 1925, p. 96.

<sup>3</sup> "The Portuguese in America," *Literary Digest*, 63:40, November 22, 1919. Unsigned article.

duty free. A "yellow peril" of Oriental labor was feared. A good class of European labor was desired to fill the labor market. Thus, Portuguese immigration was sponsored by the government and by plantation interests with the result that more than 21,000 persons of this group were induced into Hawaii between the years 1878 and 1910.<sup>4</sup>

Census figures show that by 1930 there were 167,891 Portuguese of foreign white stock in the United States, approximately 40 per cent of them in California and the remainder in the New England states. In addition there were 27,588 in Hawaii. In California, including Portuguese descendants of all generations there are today an estimated 200,000. More than 64 per cent of them are native born.

While the Portuguese in Hawaii have worked their way urbanward as fast as possible to escape the stigma attached to lowly plantation labor and to better their economic conditions, approximately 50 per cent of those in California are in rural areas, and the migration appears to be outward from centers of population. In consequence, the types of labor of the two groups are different, as well as is the degree of contact with other groups. In Hawaii the tendency is away from agriculture and chiefly into occupational pursuits designated in census records as "Manufacturing and Mechanical" and "Transportation and Communication." In California, on the other hand, specialization has been in dairying, fishing, and to a lesser extent in agricultural fields. In 1920 the Portuguese ranked third highest in ownership of land and fourth highest in value of farms in California.<sup>5</sup> In addition, they are said to control 75 per cent of the cattle of the state.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> R. C. Lydecker, "Memorandum on the Introduction of Foreign Labor, 1865-1913" (Honolulu: typewritten, unpublished manuscript, Public Archives).

<sup>5</sup> The Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920, Vol. VI, Pt. 3, *Agriculture*. Table 16, p. 337.

<sup>6</sup> Soares, *op. cit.*, p. 64.



The Portuguese are known as an honest, proud, thrifty people. They are hard workers, conscientious, home lovers, and home owners. They came, not to make their "pile" and then return to the old country, but to settle, to raise their families in America. Both in Hawaii and in California the Portuguese have attained middle-class economic status. They are proud of their achievement as well as of the fact that they have seldom needed welfare aid in times of depression.

The largest urban Portuguese population in California is in Oakland, where the group numbers more than 12,000 and represents 9.1 per cent of the foreign white stock, as compared with 3.1 per cent for the state as a whole. In Hawaii they represent approximately 12 per cent of the Island population.

In order to induce a stable Portuguese population into Hawaii, plantation interests guaranteed transportation for both laborers and their families. As a result, the sex ratio of the Portuguese in Hawaii today is 101.1 males to 100 females, while that for California, where there was no paid sponsorship of the group, is 154.7 to 100. From this situation one might expect to find the rate of outmarriage higher in California than in Hawaii. Such, however, is not the case. While in Hawaii 36.2 per cent of Portuguese males and 51.4 per cent of females marry outside their own group,<sup>7</sup> in California an estimated 10 per cent marry outside.<sup>8</sup>

Those marrying into other groups in California marry almost entirely with Catholics, while in the Islands, despite the fact that 98 per cent of the Portuguese profess Catholic religion, outmarriage is based on other grounds. Portuguese there have married into more than a dozen different racial groups and have shown considerable re-

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<sup>7</sup> Computed from figures of Board of Health, Bureau of Vital Statistics (Honolulu), Annual Report to the Governor of the Territory, 1938.

<sup>8</sup> Estimated on the basis of interviews.

ligious toleration in so doing. Moreover, the divorce rate of Island Portuguese is comparatively high, being similar to that of the Anglo-Saxon group, while in California it is very low as yet. The average size of the Portuguese family in California appears to be considerably larger than that in Hawaii. Mortality rates for the Portuguese groups are average in both areas.

There is a wide cultural differentiation between the Portuguese in the Island setting and those in California today. Four decades of separation have shown the influence that environment can have in remolding a people. Although there have been changes in the cultural patterns of the Portuguese in California, it is in Hawaii, where the Portuguese people have gone through the processes of competition, conflict, accommodation, and assimilation and have broken down social distance, that the distinction from old-world patterns is most evident. On the other hand, the Portuguese in California have retained considerable of the old-world family pattern. The man is distinctly the head of the family. The wife may drive the family car to the market, but she remains far more the housewife than is the American woman.

Compulsory education<sup>9</sup> is tending to break down family influence over children.<sup>10</sup> In many Portuguese homes, however, the daughter is still merely an apprentice to the mother in the ways of being an obedient, faithful, diligent wife, versed in old-world culture patterns and steeped in traditions. When her required school days are over, she is expected to remain in the home until she is courted and married in accordance with old-world custom. More freedom is enjoyed by the son in choice of occupations, and there is an increasing number of Portuguese youths being

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<sup>9</sup> David L. Crawford, *Paradox in Hawaii* (Boston: The Stratford Company, 1933), p. 197.

<sup>10</sup> The influence of compulsory education is similar in bringing racial groups into contact, whether the setting be California or Hawaii.

educated in our colleges and universities. The majority, however, leave school as early as possible and take up dairy work or fishing, and later marry the daughter of another Portuguese dairyman or fisherman who lives close by.

Religious and fraternal festivals play a far greater part in the lives of California Portuguese than is the case with their brothers in Hawaii. In California there are at least four active Portuguese fraternal organizations, with two or more women's auxiliaries. Some of their meetings are conducted in Portuguese and others in English. In Hawaii, on the other hand, the two such organizations still in existence have lost much of their membership in recent years.

In Hawaii the Portuguese have but a single small newspaper today. Its circulation is confined, for the most part, to first-generation Portuguese. In California there are five newspapers printed in the Portuguese language. In Hawaii few second- and third-generation Portuguese can speak or read the language, whereas in California approximately 50 per cent of Portuguese children are bilingual. In both areas, contrasted with the 70 per cent illiteracy of their immigrant forebears, Portuguese youths are highly literate today. At least two radio stations in California, one in Oakland and the other in Long Beach, broadcast programs in Portuguese each week. Hawaii has no such radio programs.

Seldom do Portuguese of Hawaii take trips back to the mother country. In California the proportion of those returning has been one out of four.<sup>11</sup> The Portuguese in California have a proportionately larger alien population than does the Islands group. Both, however, have smaller alien populations than the general average for the areas.

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<sup>11</sup> Francis J. Brown, editor, *Our Racial and National Minorities* (New York: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1937), p. 396.

In California there has been less call for naturalization by the Portuguese than in Hawaii. In politics there is a comparable situation. California Portuguese, especially those in urban areas, express interest in business and politics, but have not yet reached the stage of political interest and power shown by the group in Hawaii. Thus, it is seen that Portuguese in California have retained and fostered old-world culture patterns to a far greater extent than has been the case in Hawaii.

Why have the Portuguese in California not assimilated as thoroughly as have those in Hawaii? The answer is to be had through an analysis of the political forces and geographic setting of each group. While Portuguese are Caucasians of southern European origin, the controlling element in the Hawaiian Islands is of north European extraction and considers itself superior. Then enters the fact that the Portuguese came to the Islands in relatively large numbers and formed a rather high percentage of the European laboring class in the Islands at the time. Their cultural patterns—language, names, gestures, religion, and other institutions—differed from those of the controlling group under whom they worked. Add to this the fact that the Portuguese had but little worldly goods and accepted work in the lowest labor brackets, and the picture is complete.

As they were looked down upon, the Portuguese quite naturally were subjected to many prejudicial practices. For instance, in order to insure plenty of social distance between themselves and the Portuguese, the controlling group held themselves apart from these lowly laborers through a special census classification, calling themselves the "Other Caucasians." Many other such practices were instituted to keep Portuguese out of "haole," or Anglo-Saxon, society, such as refusing admittance to them in certain haole organizations.

Being a sensitive people, the Portuguese rebelled against their position as "under dogs." Through years of hard labor they have elevated themselves into the better-paying jobs; they have moved cityward, working as carpenters, cabinet makers, machinists, and in any other kinds of work they could find. They sought positions away from the cane fields in order to give expression to their ability and receive recognition. Gradually they neared middle-class economic status. But they found themselves now face to face with members of the controlling group, who, fearful lest the Portuguese gain too much power, instituted the practice of minimizing their ability and of calling attention derogatorily to the group's lowly beginning in the Islands.

To dispose of this matter of stereotyping, the Portuguese disbanded as a nationality group, settled apart from one another and, preferably, in haole-occupied areas. They associated with others than their own group, modifying old-world customs and taking on new ones, marrying outside the group and especially into the haole group, giving up old-world institutions and language, even changing their names in some instances. Anything and everything was justified in order to obliterate the haole stereotype of a "Portagee." Every action was a positive one. Such negative acts as segregation and isolation were impossible in so small and thickly populated a community. Therefore, accommodation and assimilation had to come the hard way. The Portuguese in Hawaii after forty years of struggle have finally gained a fair degree of assimilation and of status. For several years now their highest rate of outmarriage has been with the haole group. And, even more significant perhaps, today they refer to themselves, not as Portuguese, but as Americans.

The picture in California is somewhat different. Since the Portuguese came to the United States of their own



accord to gain new freedom and to improve their economic-social status, they were not paid much attention by the controlling group on the mainland. Then, too, their percentage to the total population of the state was, and is, so small that their competition with other groups has been insignificant. Add to this the fact that in California the group has tended to move outward from densely populated urban areas where competition with established businesses would inevitably bring on conflict, and the reason for lack of notice of the Portuguese by other groups is fairly evident.

The Portuguese have strong control of the dairying industry throughout California and of the fishing industry, especially in the San Diego area. Therefore, they have been able effectively to segregate themselves from other groups. Whereas the Portuguese in Hawaii have felt the necessity for Americanization in order to be accepted socially, in California this has not been true. Thrown together through occupational specialization and common culture, the Portuguese naturally have isolated themselves both culturally and spatially through their own self-sufficiency.

Proud of their old-world background, their language, and their institutions, the Portuguese in California have sought to pass these things on to their children. The fact that they are a home-loving, peace-loving people and seldom come before the courts has added to the lack of censorship of the group in its transplanted homeland. Whereas in Hawaii some of the children caught between culture patterns bring ridicule to the whole group through unlawful acts, in California the children are equally as peaceful and undisturbing as are their parents. They mind their own business, "and let the rest of the world go by."

What do the Portuguese in Hawaii think of their brothers in California and the United States as a whole?



Strangely enough, they believe that the mainland group is better assimilated in American ways of life than they themselves. This belief, the writer concludes, is due to lack of conflict and prejudicial practices against mainland Portuguese noted by Portuguese visitors from Hawaii. On the other hand, it seems that California Portuguese take a more critical attitude toward the behavior of their Island kinsfolk. As expressed by a Portuguese interviewee, Hawaiian Island Portuguese are thought of by California Portuguese in much the same light that "Okies," or Oklahomans, are looked upon by persons from other states. That the Portuguese in Hawaii have shed their old-world ways, traditions, and institutions for newer patterns is disgusting and revolting to older, conservative California Portuguese. In disfavor especially is the Island practice of marrying outside the group, away from the Catholic church, and sometimes resorting to divorce. The younger members are more sympathetic in their viewpoints. Few of them, however, express desire to visit Hawaii, while the majority interviewed would like to see the old country about which their parents have told them.

Despite all that has been said, there can be no doubt that assimilation is taking place in the California Portuguese group. Indications are visible on every side. The major force appears to be the school. Children of various racial groups meet one another in school and on the playground, and the process is well under way. It will be merely a matter of time until the older generation passes on, leaving the second generation with substantial backgrounds to carry on the American way of life.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> As near as the writer has been able to ascertain, his represents the only extensive study of the Portuguese group in a period of years. C. J. Bannick presented a thesis to the University of California, in 1917, entitled "Portuguese Immigration to the United States: Its Distribution and Status." In 1923, Donald R. Taft's monograph entitled *Two Portuguese Communities in New England* was published by Columbia University. No other extensive studies of the group have been found.

## RACES AND CULTURE

**MANY MEXICOS.** By LESLEY BYRD SIMPSON. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1941, pp. xiii+336.

The author writes with literary skill about many of the significant phases of Mexican history from its earliest days to 1941. All who from an interest in hemispheric unity would reacquaint themselves with the stirring life of our neighbor nation will find this book full of interest and enlightenment. A glimpse is given of the geology of the area now known as Mexico, and connections are made between geology and history. Cortez is seen in a slightly more favorable light than most histories shed upon him, while Hidalgo is "debunked." Santa Anna is given liberal space. Juarez receives considerable attention, but Diaz is "played down." Carranza appears as a weak character, but Obregon stands out strongly. Calles is seen as "always a despot." Cardenas receives considerable favorable comment, but Camacho seems to be one who will settle back into making a mediocre performance. In these estimates the author speaks positively and yet modestly. He professes a final perplexity about the future of Mexico. While slow progress is being made here and there in behalf of the welfare of the less fortunate, yet the whole is controlled by a military oligarchy. Many Mexicos have appeared in the course of history in Mexico, although the author does not give a clear-cut analysis of how many Mexicos he is thinking of or what these are; he states the history of Mexico as he sees it and allows his readers to arrive at their own conclusions.

E.S.B.

**THUS BE THEIR DESTINY.** By J. H. ATWOOD, DONALD W. WYATT, VINCENT J. DAVIS, and IRA D. WALKER. Prepared for the American Youth Commission. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1941, pp. xi+96.

Here are three case studies of Negroes living in as many communities: namely, Milton, Pennsylvania; Greensboro, North Carolina; and Galesburg, Illinois. In these cases the Negro youth are frustrated because of inability to get an education and to obtain "a reasonably secure and satisfying job." They are wounded by the race discrimination that is shown against them, due in part to "the thoughtless habit of the dominant group to jibe at Negroes with derogatory or even abusive language." The Negro in the small city or the town is at a special disadvantage. "The deepening of race prejudice" is disheartening to the Negro.

**LOS ANGELES, A GUIDE TO THE CITY AND ITS ENVIRONS.** Compiled by Workers of the Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration in Southern California. New York: Hastings House, 1941, lii+433.

The volume contains a wealth of descriptive information about the metropolitan area of which Los Angeles is the center. It represents a great deal of painstaking work. The aim is neither to glorify nor to vilify Los Angeles. The middle course is pursued between the evils of "journalistic superficiality" and of "unrestrained eulogy." Ten maps and a hundred excellent photographs enhance the value of this superior guide book.

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## SOCIAL THEORY

**COMMUNISM UNMASKED.** By ABBA GORDIN. New York: I. N. Hord, 1940, pp. 311.

The author draws liberally from literature that is ordinarily considered as "radical," in order to substantiate his negative exposition of communism as an ideology. He makes distinctions between what he calls Marxism, Marxianism, and Marxianity. He says communism is based on Marxianity rather than Marxism proper, owing to the pseudoreligious elements for which the term Marxianity is coined. In the view of the author, communism is a hoax for the masses, and it is decidedly not the ideology of the working class; on the other hand, it is a convenient and clever philosophy for those who crave political and economic power.

J.E.N.

**FREEDOM: ITS MEANING.** Edited by RUTH WANDA ANSHEN. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1940, pp. xii+686.

This timely book contains essays or excerpts from other copyright works of some forty-two distinguished modern thinkers. Every contributor is outstanding in his field. The essays are grouped under the following headings: Freedom Invades History; Freedom for the Mind; Freedom in the Body Politic; Cultural Patterns for Freedom; The Essence of Freedom. Each of the essays or excerpts is complete in itself, but may be taken in association with others in its group division for a larger meaning of freedom.

J.E.N.

**VECTORS IN GROUP CHANGE.** By LEWIS H. ROHRBAUGH. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1940, pp. 85.

The author reviews the different theories of individual-group relations and points out that most of the studies of this subject so far treat it as though the subject matter were static. Following Lewin and others, the author takes the "psychological field-theory" and "vector" approaches. With vectors as "directed magnitudes" he describes the group process of a small town which he calls "Walkton." To appreciate this type of analysis one has to learn the special concepts and how to apply them. There is considerable room for subjective errors in the application. "Field-dynamics" is not yet sufficiently developed to justify any statement regarding its ultimate predictive importance in the study of the group process.

**SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY.** By OTTO KLINEBERG. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1940, pp. xii+570.

The author explores scientifically the relation between psychology and ethnology, and also deals with differential psychology and with personality. He defines social psychology as "the scientific study of the behavior of the individual to other individuals." Although he is concerned with the individual "in the group situation," he takes the latter more or less for granted except as it is a cultural situation. By virtue of his investigations in the field of the psychology of race relations, he is well fitted to examine the connections between culture and personality. He considers individuals as the product in part of different types of cultural backgrounds, and hence suggests that he is writing what might be called a comparative social psychology. Unique is the chapter on the "social factors in perception and memory." In the part on differential psychology the author considers individual and class differences and finds the bases for these chiefly in social and cultural environment. Although speaking primarily as a psychologist, Dr. Klineberg arrives at the conclusion that most of the institutions of present-day society "are to be explained in terms of social rather than biological factors" and that criminality and mental abnormality "may best be attacked by social betterment, and not by sterilization." War is inherent, not in human nature, but in the social and economic system.

Throughout the book the author remains close to careful analyses of scientific studies in the realm of social and cultural relations. Although he proceeds cautiously, he arrives at definite and positive conclusions.

E.S.B.

**URBAN SOCIETY.** By NOEL P. GIST and L. A. HALBERT. Second Edition. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1941, pp. viii+629.

This book is no ordinary revision. At least one half of it is new and rewritten. A few chapters that appeared in the 1933 edition have been dropped, and a few have been abbreviated and combined with others. A number of new subjects receive chapter status, such as population trends, housing, the metropolitan region. However, the general pattern of the book and the point of view are essentially unchanged. Considerable space is given to the history of urbanism. Five chapters are assigned to the ecology of the city. The effects of urban life on personality receive attention in two chapters. Social problems and social reconstruction are the themes of half a dozen more chapters. The style of the book might be described as factual. The future of cities and to an extent, therefore, of civilization depends on the degree to which "intelligence is directed toward a rational control of the social and economic forces that are ever at work in an urban environment." A book such as this gives a comprehensive basis in facts for the social application of intelligence in the form of city planning and control.

E.S.B.

**THE TRIUMPH OF AMERICAN CAPITALISM.** By LOUIS M. HACKER. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1940, pp. x+460.

Professor Hacker has developed in his new book the story of the amazing growth and development of American capitalism by placing it within his own unique and well-analyzed frame of reference. He has found that our American capitalistic history cannot be explained adequately without an evaluation of the peculiar character of our economic institutionalism. Three distinctions of this character are: (1) our capitalist climate, (2) the nonregulatory and nonoppressive character of our state, and (3) the belief in the ideal of equality of economic opportunity.

Capitalism, as analyzed by the author, is an economic order based on the profit motive, its leading characteristics being private ownership of heavy production, operation for gain, and control by individuals who use the credit and wage systems. Four stages in the development of capitalism have been noted: (1) mercantile capitalism, (2) industrial capitalism, (3) finance capitalism, and (4) state capitalism. The American Revolution cut off the tendencies of the first stage to further development and opened the way for industrial capitalism, in which stage the towering fortunes in cotton, ironware, and steel were made. The stage of finance capitalism arrived during the early 1900's when banking capital began to be utilized for the creation of combinations to check competition. After

the World War and accelerated by the depression of the 1930's, state capitalism was called into being to defend property rights and to begin the initiation of enterprise on behalf of the state. Professor Hacker does not condemn this turn of events in the development of capitalism in the United States, for he believes that, notwithstanding the dangers of the building of a powerful bureaucracy, we are still held in check by our democratic ideals and living concept of the "life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness right."

In the final chapter the author asks the question: "Was American Capitalism a Success?" and he answers: "The capitalism that settled America in terms of the active faith of Protestant Puritanism; that defied the authority of the English Mercantile State; that penetrated the western wilderness and established in it free enterprise and the free man who knew how to put the public official in his place; that overthrew the economic and political pretensions of the slave power; that conquered (wastefully it is true) and harnessed the natural resources of a great land, and filled the land with efficient agencies for turning out consumer's goods in a vast flood: that capitalism was a success." The American spirit of enlightenment with its emphasis upon freedom will stand in good stead the trend toward state capitalism, for the American brand heralds the economy of abundance.

M.J.V.

**LIBERAL EDUCATION IN A DEMOCRACY.** By STEWART G. COLE. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1940, pp. 309.

The author of this book, who is President of Kalamazoo College, has tried to characterize and evaluate the significance of a liberal education in a democracy. He asserts that a person possesses the advantages of a liberal education to the degree that he is freed from the limitations of prejudices and provincialisms, and to the extent that he accepts the important responsibility of helping to enrich the common life of his fellowmen. Dr. Cole, a firm believer in the advantages offered by the liberal arts college, shows that, if the liberal arts college is to recover its place in the academic world, it will be necessary to do a complete task of "job analysis." He offers the following concepts or areas of social living as a superstructure for the liberal arts college program: the claims of the scientific temper, the insights of the aesthetic sense, the possibilities of social democracy, the issue of responsible persons, a religious philosophy of life, the language medium of the educated person. It is pointed out that the fundamental weakness of progressive education theory is its homocentricity, which leaves man almost a cosmic orphan. This emphasis indicates a need



for the inclusion of a course in the history of religion in the curriculum, with particular stress on the Christian way of life.

He realizes that the teacher-student relationship is of paramount importance, for he says, "The more natural the valences operate between two parties, the freer the exchange of ideas and the finer the educational outcomes." One of the ideas expressed, of interest to sociologists, is that the college is a directing factor in social teleosis.

EDWARD C. MCDONAGH  
SOUTHERN ILLINOIS NORMAL UNIVERSITY

**SCIENCE, PHILOSOPHY, AND RELIGION. A Symposium.** Published by Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion in their Relation to the Democratic Way of Life, Inc., New York, 1941, pp. viii+443.

Among the twenty-four interesting papers in this volume is one by P. A. Sorokin on "The Tragic Dualism of Contemporary Sensate Culture: Its Root and Way Out." This sensate culture "simultaneously is a culture of man's glorification and of man's degradation." Both happiness and misery are increasing. R. M. MacIver finds that a part of the difficulties today are due to the fact that multitudes are held by a philosophy which demands "unity without difference." S. G. Cole emphasizes a social softness within the body politic and "an aggressive totalitarianism without." Religion must do what science is unable to do, namely, "set up certain goals for both private and social human life and influence the disposition of human beings in favor of these goals," according to Phillip Frank of Harvard University. Harold D. Lasswell urges that "a science of democracy" be developed as a solution to current problems.

**SECRET SOCIETIES: A CULTURAL STUDY OF FRATERNALISM IN THE UNITED STATES.** By NOEL P. GIST. The University of Missouri Studies, A Quarterly of Research, Vol. XV, No. 4, October, 1940.

In a foreword to this study Dr. Melville J. Herskovits outlines the three methods of approach to the study of culture in terms of culture patterns. In the first approach civilization is looked upon as an encompassing cultural totality, and the culture pattern idea is not stressed. The second views culture as objective patterns of institutions more or less set off one from the other. In the third approach culture patterns are considered reflections in individual behavior of conditioning components of social traditions.

Using the second method and not stressing the socio-psychological view implicit in the third approach, Professor Gist studies the forms and func-

tions of secret societies in the United States. He defines "culture pattern" as "the design which any combination of culture traits may assume in a given culture," and uses that concept as a frame of reference for analyzing under respective chapter headings: Process and Structure in Secret Societies; Theories and Legends of Origins; Fraternal Ritualism; Fraternal Symbolism; Selection and Control of Members; Economic and Social Functions.

Professor Gist presents a tentative hypothesis "that the development of contemporary secret societies is characterized by certain resemblances, and that these similarities are so marked as to constitute fairly uniform cultural patterns." This study is marked by objectivity and the approach is scientific.

VANDYCE HAMREN

**ORDER AND POSSIBILITY IN SOCIAL LIFE.** By DOUGLAS G. HARING and MARY E. JOHNSON. New York: Richard R. Smith, 1940, pp. xii+757.

The authors give credit for many ideas in their point of view to Franklin H. Giddings' essay *Order and Possibility*. In this essay the "implicit" approach is that biological sciences discover what man *can* do, the social sciences provide description of what he *does*. "In practical decision as to what a specific individual or group of individuals *wish to do*, the limitations and possibilities of human nature and of social order are definitive" (pp. vii-viii). The authors rather dogmatically assert that scientific social laws do not exist, nor can they be ascertained (pp. 690, 708, 735, 749). On the other hand, they declare in a sweeping generalization that all phenomena of population change, societal constitution, and cultural accumulation are ultimately reducible to human efforts to survive as happily as circumstances will allow (p. 667).

The authors feel there is little need for specialized terminology in sociological research; just plain, simple words will suffice and there should be eliminated from the research such terms of physical analogy as: social forces, social mind, social morphology, social structure, social distance, social process, social value, and social interaction. Since the authors use the following terms, they must consider them acceptable: protocracy, human plurel, consciousness of kind, social situation, social life, cultural base, circumstantial pressure; and the authors even employ in their own context social process (p. 697) and values (p. 11). The framework of the book is interesting and logically developed, but the content needs careful revision for coherence, consistency, and uniformity of principles and points of view.

VANDYCE HAMREN

**EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY.** By FREDERICK BOLTON and JOHN E. CORBALLY. New York: American Book Company, 1941, pp. xvi+632.

This book is written as an introductory textbook for college students in the field of education. Both authors are teachers of education and have approached this study from an educational point of view. "It may serve as a first book in the entire teacher-training program," for it gives a well-outlined picture of recent developments and tendencies in public school teaching. Its objective is "to bring to the consciousness of students the vital relation between education and democracy." This emphasis on the dynamic relation between education and democracy is the dominant note of the book.

The seven major sections of the book are devoted to introduction, democracy and education, national agencies of democratic education, contributing agencies in democratic education, some antisocial problems in society, larger social values and vocational aspects of education, and social values of some school studies. Within these sections is presented a wide and practical interpretation of current public school education. The student is reminded of the adaptability of such agencies as the newspaper, radio, and motion picture to education; a broad program is needed, and one that fits the individual school. Also of particular interest to the authors is the vocational usefulness of school programs, activities, and courses. Good use is made of pertinent quotations from authorities, of suggested lead questions and topics for the student's future classroom work, and of selected references which appear at the end of each chapter. Though further use of sociological concepts and data might have been successfully employed, this text is well suited to give the beginning student in education the broader social vision of his work and outlook which is so necessary today.

DAVID CROSBY  
JUNIATA COLLEGE

**MASARYK'S DEMOCRACY. A Philosophy of Scientific and Moral Culture.** By W. PRESTON WARREN. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941, pp. x+254.

In this semibiography and semiportrayal of an ideology, the author demonstrates a deep acquaintance with Masaryk's life and intellectual achievements. In the Introduction, Herbert A. Miller declares that "this book shows how completely knowledge, experience, philosophy, morality, and faith in truth and goodness were merged into an integrated character." The author quotes George Bernard Shaw as saying that Masaryk is the only man whom he knew who could have been president of a United States of Europe.

According to Masaryk, democracy is mutualistic in outlook and methods, and yet it cannot permit human prerogatives to be violated without sacrificing its own principle and interests (p. 43). If democracy is to be maintained, there must be defense by force if necessary.

Masaryk argued for a democratic army. The soldier must be imbued with the principles of genuine humanity, and there must be no barriers or distinctions between civic life and the army (p. 49). The prime motif in Masaryk's thinking was that human life must have a satisfactory cosmic outlook and an adequately effective human meaning (p. 135). Being an idealistic realist, Masaryk's sociology was "a scientific, philosophic, historical, aesthetic, international matter and no mere question of isolated community or case efforts" (p. 235). Integrity is the key word to Masaryk's democracy.

E.S.B.

**THE PSYCHOLOGY OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS.** By HADLEY CANTRIL.  
New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1941, pp. xv+274.

Four social movements are selected for analysis. These are the Father Divine movement, the Oxford Group movement, the Townsend Plan movement, and the Nazi movement. The lynching mob also is included, but its nature as a social movement is questionable. Three chapters deal with psychological concepts relating to human nature, and then follow case study materials. One wonders how the nature of these concepts would have been changed if the author had treated his case studies inductively and limited his concepts to such as may have been found in an analysis of social movements.

The treatment of each of the social movements is descriptive, historical, and psychological. An able analysis is made of the factors in human nature and in human events which explain the appearance and force of each social movement. It would be well if these presentations of four social movements could be read and studied carefully by people generally. The author unhesitatingly plunges into an examination of human values and frankly asserts: "Thus, if the social scientist refuses to make evaluations, who else can do so with an equal chance of predicting what movements will achieve desired goals?" In his analyses of social movements he has achieved important results; but the story is not complete, for there remains the opportunity of considering each of the social movements under study from the sociological viewpoint of process and in terms in each case of stages and trends. Social movements are reviewed in the light of culture patterns, values, needs, and attitudes; but they are more, for they include transitions and underlying social processes. The social psychologist and sociologist have a large field in which they may collaborate to good advantage. Either without the aid of the other is handicapped.

E.S.B.

**INTRODUCTION TO ECONOMICS.** By CECIL K. BROWN. New York: American Book Company, 1941, pp. xiii+534.

The author has streamlined introductory economics in an interesting way as indicated by some of the major topics: the social order and its ends, the corporate system, money in the modern state, the capitalization of incomes, speculation and insurance, price making in the market, men without property, and interregional trade. The point of view is conservative. At times the discussion would appear to be rather advanced for beginning students despite the author's aim to meet them on their level of thinking. The author indicates that consumers' co-operation might be used "as a means of breaking the stranglehold of private trusts and monopolies," but he does not see the ways in which it is opposed to state ownership and control. He does not see it as an opponent of class consciousness or as it is, namely, an exponent of universal human consciousness.

**THE STRUCTURE OF AMERICAN ECONOMY, 1919-1929. An Empirical Application of Equilibrium Analysis.** By WASSILY W. LEONTIEF. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1941, pp. 181.

This is a careful and scholarly presentation of a theoretical analysis of economic society in terms of households as an industry, prices as dependent variables, price and output patterns, and structural changes.

**LEGAL MISCELLANIES. Six Decades of Changes and Progress.** By HENRY W. TAFT. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1941, pp. xiii+218.

The book is partly autobiographical and partly a discussion of changes that have occurred in some phases of legal practice during the author's extended experience.

**RESEARCH STUDIES OF THE STATE COLLEGE OF WASHINGTON.** Edited by CARL E. DENT. Pullman: State College of Washington, Vol. IX, No. 1, March, 1941, pp. 80.

This publication contains seven papers read at the twelfth annual meeting of the Pacific Sociological Society, held December 27 and 28, 1940, at Stanford University. These papers are: (1) Leisure—A Field for Social Research, M. H. Neumeyer; (2) Land Values as an Ecological Index, C. F. Schmid; (3) Attitude Differentials in a New York Rural Community, L. S. Bee; (4) The Adjustment of Family Life to its Physical Shelter, S. H. Riemer; (5) The Place of Sociological Statistics in the College Curriculum, Joseph Cohen; (6) Houses for the Masses, E. F. Young; (7) The Ecological Patterning of Tacoma, M. R. Schafer.

## SOCIAL WORK

**AVERAGE GENERAL RELIEF BENEFITS, 1933-1938.** By ENID BAIRD in collaboration with HUGH P. BRINTON. Washington, D.C.: Works Progress Administration, 1941, pp. iv+89.

A survey of average benefits to cases in various relief groups in selected areas. That state differences in the size of average relief benefits were marked throughout the FERA program is evidenced throughout the report, and the national average rose gradually from \$14.36 in July, 1933, to the peak of \$28.13 in January, 1935.

**FAMILY CASE WORK SERVICES FOR REFUGEES.** By JOSEPH E. BECK, FLORENCE NESBITT, and HELEN WALLENSTEIN. Published by the Family Welfare Association of America, 1941, pp. 39.

This brief report consists of three chapters or papers, each of which is concerned with the refugee problem, and discusses its relation to the work and services of family welfare agencies. In general the writers indicate the necessity of obtaining the co-operation of these societies in the task of caring for refugees. Overorganization is deplored and emphasis given to the need of case-work skills which the family welfare agencies are able to supply.

G.B.M.

**SOCIAL CASE RECORDS FROM PSYCHIATRIC CLINICS.** By CHARLOTTE TOWLE. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941, pp. xii+455.

Twelve sets of materials are given in this book. They deal with social workers' problems, such as: interpreting a child's mentally defective condition to his father, helping a patient with frustrated achievement strivings to meet vocational and educational problems, helping a mother to understand the changing needs of a boy of superior intelligence and self-willed tendencies, helping a mother who has an obsession that her baby is dying or that some harm will befall him, helping a young woman with acute fears. The book lives up well to its three purposes: (1) of conveying a content of knowledge in the field of human behavior, (2) of showing how to utilize psychiatric concepts in case work practice, and (3) of promoting understanding of basic case work principles and processes.



**JOSEPH TUCKERMAN, PIONEER IN AMERICAN SOCIAL WORK.** By DANIEL T. MCCOLGAN. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1940, pp. xvii+450.

This intimate study of the life and service of a Protestant clergyman is a fine tribute to the broad-mindedness of the author. In his early life as a country pastor, Tuckerman soon recognized the need and importance of philanthropy. His interest in the unchurched poor of Boston led to his appointment as missionary among the poor of that city. As a reformer he became interested in child welfare, juvenile delinquency, problems of public and private relief, improvement of jails, higher wages for women, and other phases of social work. Tuckerman went abroad to study conditions and philanthropic programs in Europe. His observations and contacts proved most valuable. He was the inspiration for the organization of the Association of Delegates from the Benevolent Societies of Boston, called by the author the first American Council of Social Agencies. His writings in the form of published reports, sermons, articles, and unpublished letters are voluminous. Possessed of a scientific approach to social problems, he was clearly the forerunner of that group of social workers who became prominent toward the close of the nineteenth century.

G.B.M.

**SOCIAL WORK IN NATIONAL DEFENSE. A CULTURE APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM OF ENLISTED MEN AND THEIR FAMILIES.** By PAULINE V. YOUNG. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1941, pp. x+292.

The book is dedicated primarily to the families of service men, and begins with a quotation from Milton's "On His Blindness," "And they also serve who only stand and wait." The national defense program has uprooted many young men who have entered military service or who are in defense industries. Both the men and their families face new situations for which all too frequently they are unprepared. The families are sometimes more seriously affected than the men themselves; if not financially, certainly in morale and in other ways.

The work of the family case worker is of special importance, for the essential qualities of home life must be preserved during the emergency. Case procedures with families of service men are indicated, beginning with the application and intake processes. The case work history is viewed as a complex life pattern. The way of life of the family is strongly conditioned by the social and economic setting. The author contends that an understanding of the influences and social forces which affect the family can best be accomplished through the cultural approach in case work. The

essential points to be covered in the social history of the family of the service man are carefully presented, including a statement of the objectives of social case study from the cultural point of view. The techniques of interviewing, the content of records, the elements of social diagnosis and social insight, and cases illustrating the social conditioning processes are described. Social therapy is an exceedingly complex process. It frequently involves not only the readjustment of the family and the personal problems of its members but a reconditioning of a complex of social relationships.

Sociologists will find this treatment of special interest. It is not a treatise on the formal aspects of case work, although case procedures are indicated. The sociopsychological factors are recognized throughout, and the concrete case material reveals the fundamental social processes and the conditioning factors with which sociological research is concerned.

M.H.N.

**THE DOCTOR AND THE DIFFICULT CHILD.** By WILLIAM MOODIE. New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1940, pp. ix+214.

This small volume, written by the medical director of the London Child Guidance Clinic and Training Centre, is not presented as a scientific treatise, but rather as "an informal discussion of fundamental disturbances of behaviour or personality in children and how they can be recognized, investigated, and treated." Child guidance is presented as a branch of clinical medicine, and the book is intended primarily for the pediatrician and the general practitioner, but it has much to offer to the social worker, the teacher, and the interested layman. Dr. Moodie describes the clinical approach to the study of the child, including the use of the social history, physical examination, psychological examination, and the psychiatric interview. He estimates that a clinic which deals with 300 new cases a year would require the services of one full-time psychiatrist, one full-time educational adviser or psychologist, and three psychiatric social workers, with adequate clerical assistance. He places particular emphasis upon the assessing of the patient's intelligence and educational attainment, "not only because educational balance is such an important part of treatment but because two-thirds at least of children suffering from disturbances of behaviour and personality are backward in school, and in at least half of these cases the fact has not been recognized."

In planning treatment the author discusses first the importance of making sure that the child is provided with the conditions necessary for stable development, and then the alteration of environmental influences

through the parent. This is followed by a section on the direct treatment of the child, of which the simplest form ". . . gives the insecure child unemotional, uncritical, understanding association with an adult, especially one who is not connected with him by relationship or authority." The second half of the book takes up some eighteen problems of behavior which are met in child-guidance cases. These discussions of symptoms are brief and are in keeping with the author's thesis that "Above all, restraint is needed, so that the healing forces of nature may be encouraged where they are likely to succeed and active treatment undertaken only when it is necessary."

RUBY S. INLOW

**GROUP WORK AND CASE WORK. Their Relationship and Practice.** By GERTRUDE WILSON. New York: Family Welfare Association of America, 1941, pp. 107.

The author aims to integrate the psychological concepts of personality and the processes of group experience. She also explores "the cooperative working relations of case work and group work agencies in relation to the individual client." It is pointed out (1) that "case workers as well as group workers are participants and leaders in groups of a professional nature"; (2) that when the case worker gives leadership to a professional group he unites "his understanding of the individual with his understanding of the group processes"; (3) that case workers "use the services of group work to a far greater extent than group workers ask for aid from case work agencies"; (4) that above all else stands "the need of knowledge and understanding by each worker of the concepts and practice of the other's field."

**SOCIAL WORK ENGINEERING, an outline of Topics for Survey, Planning, and Appraisal.** By JUNE PURCELL GUILD and ARTHUR ALDEN GUILD. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1940, pp. 136.

This book is based upon the actual practice and experience of the authors especially in Richmond, Virginia, and in Seattle, Washington. Twelve principles and methods of procedure are stated in the first chapter. The importance of understanding the "interdependence of social problems and social engineering" is repeatedly emphasized. The steps involve a local survey or inventory, which should be a continuous one, and the outlining of a program based upon needs, with an adequate co-operative central organization to carry out the program. It is pointed out that private and governmental activities in the welfare field should supplement each other in integrated fashion, and that there continue to be many necessary activities to be undertaken by private agencies.

The scope of the survey both for *general* information and in relation to *specific* problems such as dependency, crime, health, et cetera, is outlined. Then follow definite suggestions for organizing a sponsoring committee, for making the survey (data to be gathered and tabulated by school districts), for analyzing and interpreting data, for organizing programs related to specific problems, and for social planning and money raising.

B.A.MCC.

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## SOCIAL WELFARE

**NORTH OF SAHARA.** By MATTIE JOHN UTTING. Boston: The Christopher Publishing House, 1940, pp. 133.

In a delightful, exuberant style the author carries the reader along as a fellow traveler from the Madeira Islands to Egypt and up the Nile. It is nature's beauties and the colorful life of the peoples that you see. A dozen photographs add to the vivid picture. Properly enough most attention is given to Egypt, including its historical setting. The author's enthusiasm gives a delightful aura to all that she describes.

**MODERN MARRIAGE. A Handbook for Men.** By PAUL POPENOE. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1940, Second Edition, pp. xi+299.

The revised book follows the plan of the first edition, but includes considerable new information. A large number of references have been assembled in Appendix VIII. These citations are referred to in their proper places through the book. The chapter headings range from "Are You Old Enough to Marry?" to "The Betrothal Period" and "The Beginning of Married Life."

**TECHNOLOGY AND SOCIETY. The Influence of Machines in the United States.** By S. McKEE ROSEN and LAURA ROSEN. New York: The Macmillan Company, pp. xiv+474.

How the modern technology has affected the citizens of the United States, economically, socially, politically, and otherwise, is remarkably well told in this new book. It really partakes of the nature of an excursion into the modern factories, modern farms, and modern transportation systems. Educational and informational in many aspects, its chief value

lies in depicting and in a sense forecasting the results of man's inventions upon the whole social fabric and himself. Its chief weakness lies in the fact that the outlook is confined to the United States, without regard to the international aspects of the total situation.

Here is man, on the one hand, working with advanced science to prolong life, to make life easier, and, on the other hand, working with other advanced branches of science to destroy life. Truly, the "creation of machines results in power over men as well as nature," and "there is danger that the human brain will not keep up with man-made machines." Is there not the strangest of paradoxes here—man's brain creating machines to serve him and yet facing the possibility that it cannot keep these machines in the line of service but must in the end be overpowered by them? Plainly, the solution must be found, and there is every indication that it will be squarely up to the social scientists to work hand in hand with all the other scientists in making clear the social effects and consequences of technological advancement. The necessity for social planning is an accepted fact in the minds not only of the great learned societies but of high governmental officials, including the President of the United States. Research and experimentation are being carried on, and public interest has been stimulated to some extent. Whatever may be the outcome, it is certain that ways must be found to provide for the subordination of the machines to "constructive and socially desirable ends." The value of the book is considerably enhanced by Professor W. F. Ogburn's brilliantly written introduction on invention as a process inaugurating social change.

M. J. V.

**VICTORY: HOW WOMEN WON IT. A Centennial Symposium 1840-1940.**  
New York: H. W. Wilson, 1940, pp. 155.

We take the place of women so much for granted today that it is well worth a thoughtful person's time to read this symposium to realize, partially at least, how women have doggedly and persistently fought for the status they have today. Eleven women have written the eleven chapters of this book, relating the step-by-step fight of the women's campaign for suffrage. The major portion of the comments are based on what are now historical facts. There are few subjective expressions, though in Chapter I the reader may make one of the few exceptions, all of the same sort, to statements like this, "Today men and women are equal politically." Equality in written legal terms, yes, but actually women have yet an equality to win because of the traditional attitudes which have grown up in the minds of men. This is still true of practically every field of human

endeavor that is traditionally "a man's field," for seldom is a woman "chief" in a man's field but rather "assistant" or "associate." The whole book emphasizes Mrs. Catt's admonition in the foreword, ". . . it is for you [women] to revivify its faith [democracy] and replenish the fires of human freedom." These pages stress the truth of one of the statements written in the nineteenth century by a New England woman, "The time for thinkers has come," that is, for men and women educated to think through, rather than react to, traditional social attitudes, and to recognize that a well-rounded society requires the joint effort of both men and women.

DOROTHY REED

**MANAGER'S MANUAL FOR CONSUMER COOPERATIVE FOOD STORES.** By WERNER K. GABLER and others. New York: Consumer Distribution Corporation, 1940.

In this work, which is the joint product of several minds, an exceedingly useful handbook for managers of co-operative retail stores will be found. Some of the topics considered are: the manager's job, selling, buying, personnel, accounting and control, co-operative advertising, merchandise, and store servicing. Each section is treated both in terms of direct suggestions to managers and also with many pertinent questions over which managers may ponder to their own good. The loose-leaf form and the pages for "notes" are useful devices. The pictures and "helps" in the appendix are of concrete value. If a manager will live up to the light which this manual offers him, he will play almost an ideal role in the co-operative movement. However, the educational bases of co-operative enterprise are somewhat slighted.

**CRIME AND ITS TREATMENT: SOCIAL AND LEGAL ASPECTS OF CRIMINOLOGY.** By ARTHUR EVANS WOOD and JOHN BAKER WAITE. New York: The American Book Company, 1941, pp. x+741.

A professor of sociology and a professor of criminal law have combined their knowledge and reflective thinking to produce a "synthesis of the sociological and legal phases of the persistent and baffling issues that arise from the phenomena of crime." (Of the 730 pages the professor of criminal law wrote eight short chapters or about 100 pages.) The book is uniformly scholarly, well written, and comprehensive. While it adds "another book" to the vast literature on crime, it may make a unique contribution: it may help to "socialize" the legalists, and "legalize" the criminologists.



The bibliographical references at the end of each chapter are sufficiently complete, up to date, and well selected. In their discussion of causal factors, legal aspects of crime, the penal institution, and the extra-mural forms of corrective treatment, both authors could have profited by actual contacts with criminals and by participant observation, if not by an actual "term," in prison. The authors would have gained new insights which would have altered their more or less formal conception and treatment of crime.

PAULINE V. YOUNG

**DELINQUENCY CONTROL.** By LOWELL JULLIARD CARR. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1941, pp. xiv+447.

*Delinquency Control*—based on practical experience, research findings, and critical thinking by the author on his own data and those of other authorities in the field—is a stimulating discussion of the etiology of crime and delinquency and their control and prevention. The author discusses in a challenging way the "myth-mind in an engineer's world," "the scientific phase" of delinquency control, "technology of control," "social action," and "social organization." In his discussion of the scientific phase he says (pp. 95-96): "So we are ready to answer 'Why delinquency?'"

1. Because *we adults* are too selfish, ignorant, unskillful, vicious, or indifferent to take the measures necessary to prevent it.
2. Because *we adults* permit anti-social behavior patterns to be thrust upon millions of children who cannot help themselves.
3. Because *we adults* permit millions to grow up in wish-thwarting, personality-twisting environments.
4. Because, finally and fundamentally, *we adults* have let scientists, inventors, and business enterprises change our modes of thinking and feeling; because *we* have let the complexities and inconsistencies of our culture outrun our institutional modes of adjustment; because *we* have let ourselves become walking anachronisms—ox-cart minds in a streamlined world. So we have delinquency."

This is indeed a very striking statement. It may motivate some people to mend their ways. However, it is not a scientific statement. It presumes that we adults by and large have control over our lack of skill, our ignorance, antisocial patterns, cultural and social lag, personality-twisting environments, and numerous other disorganizing factors. We adults are relatively powerless in countless instances because of the intricately complex and rapidly changing social forces in a civilization in transition. It may even be pointed out that in many instances the very attempts at social

reorganization have frequently brought in their wake processes of social and personal disorganization. It is not merely a matter for adults to "permit," or "allow," or "let" things happen. In the process of social evolution they happen in spite of many of our well-intentioned attempts as well as because of them.

In order to control delinquency the author advocates development of community leadership; co-ordination of community resources, government, and legal action; improvement of the school system, the church, and the child-guidance clinic; and instillation of meaning into social and personal life. Case treatment of individual behavior problems and parental education receive limited attention.

In spite of certain limitations in the author's basic philosophy, the book is refreshing and stimulating. Here we find a director of a child-guidance clinic who devotes a great deal of attention to community problems, social forces, primary and secondary social institutions, social action, and social organization. In this respect Dr. Carr not only has made a cardinal contribution to the understanding of the practical problems of delinquency control but has undoubtedly established a method of study and thinking in this field which deserves our concentrated and wholehearted attention.

PAULINE V. YOUNG

**FUNDAMENTALS OF CONSUMER COOPERATION.** By V. S. ALANNE.  
Superior, Wisconsin: Cooperative Publishing Association, Seventh Edition, 1941, pp. 107.

The co-operative movement has too few veterans; moreover, it appreciates its veterans too little. V. S. Alanne, one of these veterans, has contributed of his years of ripe experience in this brief and succinct treatise on "Fundamentals." This seventh edition brings Mr. Alanne's analyses and observations up to date on a number of themes such as: aims of consumer co-operation, practical applications of co-operative principles, organization and administration of consumer co-operatives, types of co-operatives, federations of co-operatives, and the integration of consumer and producer co-operation. A concluding chapter deals with "co-operatism" or the philosophy of consumer co-operation. Pertinent questions are added to each chapter. Many readers will feel that the bibliography is too brief. As a whole, beginners will find this book packed full with valuable data interpreted in a sane and careful manner. For the next edition the author might well introduce a chapter on "The Value of Discussion Groups" in place of Chapter V (which is a summary of Chapters III and IV). An index would be a real asset.

**THE UNEMPLOYED MAN AND HIS FAMILY.** By MIRRA KOMCROVSKY.  
New York: published by the Dryden Press, Inc., for the Institute of Social Research, 1940, pp. xii+163.

Dr. Komcrovsky's study of the unemployed man is sociologically important for several reasons, among which are the methodological procedures employed in interviewing and securing case studies, the development of a broad statistical framework into which the interviews and case studies could be fitted, and the excellent interpretations which have accompanied the case materials. Fifty-nine families affected by unemployment were studied in order to note the results of loss of status upon the man of the family. The status of the husband was definitely lowered in thirteen out of fifty-eight families, the breakdowns being classified as falling into three patterns, namely, crystallization of an inferior status, breakdown of a more or less coercive control, and weakened authority of a husband over a loving wife. The study shows clearly that the men did not give up their claims to authority easily, but fought bitterly to demand respect. Other effects of unemployment were revealed too, such as a tendency in some to swing toward the left politically, a tendency to become socially isolated on their own initiative, and a tendency to decrease sex relationships between wife and husband. The report might well have been concluded with a carefully planned list of findings and summations.

M.J.V.

**DEMOCRACY'S SECOND CHANCE.** By GEORGE BOYLE. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1941, pp. xiii+177.

The subtitle, "Land, Work, and Cooperatives," carries the threefold theme of the book. As editor of the *Maritime Cooperator*, which is a periodical that represents the "Antigonish Movement" and the co-operatives made famous by the work of such men as Tompkins, Coady, and MacDonald, Mr. Boyle is in a strategic position to know something significant about basic economic and social problems of people who live close to the bare subsistence level. He protests "the flight from the land" and insists that a return to the land is needed. In the city and in industry many people "work in activities in which they do not believe, only to make a living and keep up a standard to which they are accustomed. These standards on the one hand and the insecurity on the other constitute a colossal bribery." Perhaps the machine has created as many jobs as it has destroyed; but, on the other hand, it has taken away (1) the "ownership of productive property (land)" and (2) "self-employment in responsible, creative work." The machine has created a kind of "techno-tyranny" and made possible

"industry for domination." Father Tompkins is quoted as saying that colleges should not train men to want to go out and make a million but "to see the social effects of their activities. Educate men who will build men and go out and help in the building of cooperatives." Small-acreage farms near enough to cities to afford employment and yet capable of providing food, fuel, and shelter are commended. Here also will be opportunities for "providing children with conditions of gainful, character-building work at home." The author presents far-reaching analyses and unique, thought-arousing suggestions regarding current problems and corrective procedures.

E.S.B.

**RURAL ROADS TO SECURITY.** By L. G. LIGUTTI and JOHN C. RAWE. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1940, Second Printing, pp. xiv+387.

This book takes its authority from the *Rerum Novarum* of Leo XIII and the *Quadragesimo Anno* of Pius XI. It also finds its stimulus in the dire needs of rural people for economic and social justice. It treats of proletarianism as the absence of productive family holdings, and speaks of "the curse of factory farming." It emphasizes the need for the multiplication of small ownerships in land, and describes in particular a number of projects, including the noteworthy Granger Homestead Project, whose development is to be credited so largely to the efforts of Monsignor Ligutti. The co-operative movement reserves favorable attention as a means of social salvation for both rural and urban people. An excellent bibliography is appended to this farseeing and yet practical volume.

**PLAY FOR CONVALESCENT CHILDREN IN HOSPITALS AND AT HOME.** By ANNE MARIE SMITH. New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1941, pp. xv+133.

An intensely practical book showing why play is essential as physical care, and what can be done with play when it is made an integral part of the convalescent care of children and when it is considered a fundamental part of the education of pediatric nurses. Too often, faulty conceptions of play have resulted in inadequate provision for the many-sided needs of children both in the home and in institutions. This book gives an account of the organization and administration of an experimental program of play as it has functioned throughout The Children's Memorial Hospital in Chicago. Effectiveness of play as therapy for children is discussed and compared with other forms of therapy and other systems.

ESTHER S. NEUMEYER

**LOS ANGELES: PREFACE TO A MASTER PLAN.** Edited by GEORGE W. ROBBINS and L. DEMING TILTON. *Los Angeles: The Pacific Southwest Academy, 1941, pp. xx+303.*

Twenty persons contributed material to this study of the Los Angeles metropolitan area, dealing with its background, the physical structure, and the role of planning. The physical aspects are given primary consideration. The city, as Clarence A. Dykstra states in the introduction, is more than a legal, physical, and economic entity. It is a way of life. For planning purposes it is necessary to consider the geographic base, the growth and character of the population, the land-use patterns, and the industrial background. Having experienced its major growth during recent decades, the Los Angeles area is a product of the motor vehicle age. The far-flung nature of the city and the extraordinary mobility of the population have produced a difficult transit problem. While the downtown commercial district is fortunately situated, a decentralization of business has occurred, with satellite business areas which now rival the main business center. During the last two decades Los Angeles has become an important commercial center, its seaport now ranking sixth among the major American seaports. The region is notorious for its new land subdivisions, but it is known also for its many individual family-unit houses and has achieved recognition for its successful attempts at contemporary housing. Few areas have better natural recreation facilities. Progress has been made in developing a master plan. The economic and social significance of planning is increasingly being recognized.

M.H.N.

**THE AMERICAN MINERS' ASSOCIATION.** By EDWARD A. WIECK. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1940, pp. 330.

Mr. Wieck has demonstrated what critical scholarship, particularly in connection with primary sources, can accomplish in historical research. His study of the rise and decline of the American Miners' Association is a valuable contribution to the historical record of labor organization and the origins of labor and employer relationships.

A fundamental policy evolved by the Association almost eighty years ago is interesting in view of the present problem in the bituminous coal strike negotiations: "Recognition of the need for joint relations between the union and operators' groups on a scale wide enough jointly to determine and maintain competitive wage rates." (p. 213) This study reveals numerous clues to an analysis of adjustment processes between organized labor and employer groups.

VANDYCE HAMREN



**THE YOUTH OF NEW YORK CITY.** By NETTIE PAULINE MCGILL and ELLEN NATHALIE MATTHEWS. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1940, pp. xxvi+420.

New York City's million youths between the ages of sixteen and twenty-four represent every race, color, creed, and nationality, and the extremes of wealth and destitution, of culture and ignorance. About 10,000 were interviewed; they were asked questions regarding their family background, education, recreation, employment, and social life; and the results are analyzed and discussed with special reference to employment.

Fifteen per cent of all youth in 1936 were living in households on relief, and of the sixteen- and seventeen-year-olds, about 64 per cent were in school, 9 per cent were employed, 23 per cent were looking for work. Of those eighteen, nineteen, and twenty years old, almost 14 per cent were in school, 37 per cent were employed, and 42 per cent were looking for work. Of those who were twenty-one and under twenty-five years old, only 2 per cent were in school or college, 51 per cent were employed, and 31 per cent were looking for work.

Those who need schooling the most seem to drop out, for only 2 per cent of the sons and daughters of the manual workers complete high school, while 42 per cent from the white-collar homes do so. In 1935 only one half of the young workers who wished work were actually employed, and it was also found that wholesome and constructive recreation is now out of reach of all except the few. The report contains many statistical tables and summaries and is an important and unusual contribution to the understanding of youth conditions in New York City.

ESTHER S. NEUMEYER

**FARMERS IN A CHANGING WORLD. YEARBOOK OF AGRICULTURE, 1940.** By UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE. Washington, D.C., United States Government Printing Office, 1940, in seven parts, pp. 1215.

While this is a yearbook on economic and social conditions in agriculture, no previous report has stressed so strongly the necessity for constant and adequate adjustment to change. One part is devoted to "what some social scientists have to say," with articles dealing with the cultural setting of American agriculture and the contribution of sociology to agriculture. A number of reports deal with democracy and agricultural policy.

Gove Hambidge, in a summary of the fifty-six reports, points out that certain trends or viewpoints have emerged during the last decade, such as



a widespread recognition of the fact that profound changes are occurring, changes to which we must adjust ourselves; a sharpened recognition of the interrelationships in the modern world; the increased awareness of the human aspects of agricultural problems; a marked tendency to use the knowledge of social sciences in addition to the findings of physical and biological sciences; and the conscious emphasis on all that is denoted by the word "democracy." Agricultural adjustment, the place of agriculture in the national welfare, the challenge of conservation, co-operative marketing, farm credit and crop insurance, rural taxation, rural electrification, farm tenancy, and farm labor are some of the economic problems to which the investigations addressed their major attention, but the final reports look "beyond economics" to the educational and cultural problems of rural people.

M.H.N.

**SOCIOLOGY APPLIED TO NURSING.** By EMORY S. BOGARDUS and ALICE B. BRETHORST. Philadelphia and London: W. B. Saunders Co., 1941, pp. 294.

This book fills a real need in linking in definite fashion the science of sociology and the art of nursing. Not only are sociological concepts made clear but their practical usefulness is demonstrated in defining personality, social institutions, and social change in relation to the professional services of the nurse. The text begins with an interpretation of the social setting of nursing. Here the function of nursing is described through the analysis of social situations in which the nurse is a participant, for example, the patient-nurse and the doctor-nurse relationships as well as those with the patient's relatives and friends. The significance of these associations is made clear through the application of sociological principles which reveal the bases of personality, of social life and organization and the forces which shape their development and present expression. The nurse is working with people beset with problems both physical and social. Therefore, it is particularly important for her to know and to understand something of the nature of society and of the human beings who compose it in order that she may increase her opportunities for service.

The four units of Part I, entitled "Sociology," present human nature and personality; the various aspects of the modern community; industrial, recreational, religious, national, and international organization—pointing up in each salient aspects as they touch upon the nurse and the nursing profession. Then, social disorganization; social reorganization and health; social processes, such as conflict, co-operation, and socialization; social change and social control are successively dealt with, not in abstruse, academic, or conventional terms, but in refreshing and stimulat-

ing fashion, relating again the sociological concepts and modern social developments. We might cite the succinct statements of "Totalitarianism *versus* Democracy," of "State Medicine," of "Social Insurance and Security."

While Part I deals primarily with sociology in the manner already indicated, Part II is devoted to "Social Problems in Nursing Service." Unit V deals with "The Individual in Sickness" from physical, psychological, and social standpoints. Unit VI presents "Medical-Social Problems of the Community and the Nurse." It discusses the extension of nursing service into new fields such as aeronautical nursing, the activities of the federal government in the health field, and forward-looking developments in mental and social hygiene and in medical-social case work.

The style is clear, direct, and stimulating, so that the reader looks ahead eagerly to the successive chapters. There are many concrete illustrations taken from the field of nursing that emphasize the value of the different phases of the presentation. Not only is this book a real contribution to the nursing profession but, in addition, it demonstrates the need for similar texts in other fields linking sociology and professional practice.

B.A.M.C.C.

**LEGAL PHASES OF COOPERATION.** By V. J. TERESHTENKO and Research Staff of the Cooperative Project. New York: Work Projects Administration, 1941, pp. x+242.

To appreciate fully the value of this work one needs to recall the preceding documents in this series of publications, for they deal with the laws relating to co-operatives. This document contains digests of 265 pamphlets, articles, and books that discuss in one way or another the laws pertaining to co-operatives. The digests vary in length from a paragraph to several pages according to the importance of the material that is being analyzed. The average length of the digests is about three fourths of a page. The range of the digests is extensive but does not include the materials dealing with the laws on housing co-operatives and on co-operative medicine, for these fields will be presented in other documents now being prepared by the Cooperative Project. The digests are arranged alphabetically. Indices are given according to major headings such as the following: agricultural co-operation, consumer co-operation, credit co-operation, producers' co-operation, and co-operative education and recreation. A geographic index and a subject index add specifically to a volume which will prove useful as an important reference work.

E.S.B.

**THE LAW OF THE ORGANIZATION AND OPERATION OF COOPERATIVES.** By ISRAEL PACKEL. Albany, New York: Mathew Bender and Co., 1940, pp. xvi+307.

In this work the author, formerly assistant counsel for the Rural Electrification and member of the Philadelphia Bar, points out that there is "a deplorable lack of adequate legal material on cooperatives," and then proceeds in an organized manner to present "the law applicable to cooperatives." He regrets that there is a serious lack of adequate legal assistance for co-operatives, and asserts that "it is incumbent upon the bar to see that this important movement with its tremendous social and political implications be given a fair opportunity to serve the common good." The law is presented with reference to the formation of co-operatives, the drafting of co-operative charters and by-laws, personal ownership in contrast to capital ownership, the management of co-operatives, the conducting of co-operative enterprise, the financing of co-operatives, the distribution of benefits and losses, and government and co-operation. Under each of the subtopics that follow the main topics a brief explanatory statement is made, and then in footnotes references to the appropriate legal cases are made with careful documentation. The book contains not only excellent reference material but also a great deal of useful information for the layman-co-operator.

E.S.B.

**COLOR AND HUMAN NATURE.** By W. LLOYD WARNER, BUFORD H. JUNKER, and WALTER A. ADAMS. Prepared for the American Youth Commission. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1941, pp. xv+301.

This volume, dealing with "Negro personality development in a Northern city," is another in the series of studies of Negro problems made by the American Youth Commission. The basic purpose of the investigation was to discover the effect of skin color upon the personality development of the individual Negro and upon his adjustment in society.

The general conclusion of the authors is that "such traits as skin color, hair texture, and Negroid features have an exaggerated importance in determining social or vocational success, both within the caste and in relation to white people, and consequently are bound to have far-reaching consequences on the formation of personality." A more specific result of the study is the determination that "shade of skin color is definitely associated with social or class position. Lightskin people by and large are at the top of the scale, and darkskin individuals are at the bottom."

The conclusions of the study are based largely upon "several thousand interviews in Chicago" and upon "the detailed analysis of over 800 case histories." The criticism may be made by those preferring objective and statistical studies that the present survey is of limited value because it is too completely subjective. The question of an adequate sampling technique and the evidently biased attitude of some of the interviewers detract in some measure from the validity of the conclusions; however, the wealth of case history material, interestingly presented, constitutes a worth-while contribution to the understanding of Negro personality.

JAMES E. CRIMI

**CONSUMERS' COOPERATIVES IN THE NORTH CENTRAL STATES.**

By L. C. KERCHER, V. W. KEBKER, W. C. LELAND, JR. Edited by R. S. VAILL. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1941, pp. xvi+431.

This book makes a specific contribution to a scholarly understanding of the co-operative movement. It delves deeply and reliably into an important sector of the history of co-operatives in the United States. The scene is found chiefly in Minnesota, Wisconsin, and northern Michigan; and the main actors are sturdy, co-operatively minded immigrants from Finland. Eight chapters are given to describing and analyzing this Finnish-initiated movement. Fifteen chapters are devoted to as many consumer co-operative associations, including Cloquet, Floodwood, and Virginia. The history and activities of three wholesales, Central Cooperative Wholesale, Midland, and the Farmers' Union Central Exchange, also are carefully described. The seven chapters comprising Part II might have been placed last and might well have been considerably expanded in view of the excellent source materials in parts I and III. They present some of the major problems of the afore-mentioned co-operatives and offer well-placed suggestions for solving these problems. Among the far-reaching topics which are quite briefly considered are: meeting monopolistic competition, adjusting to change, modifying the inequalities of private ownership, the probable effectiveness of co-operatives in the present economy, and the operation of an autonomous co-operative economy. The major conclusions, found chiefly in Part II, relate to the change that must come when the first-generation Finnish immigrants relinquish control, and also to the developments ahead for the co-operative movement within the present economy. Co-operative economy is discussed pro and con in comparisons with both a capitalist economy and a socialist economy. An intelligent and understanding yet impartial attitude is maintained throughout this valuable addition to the literature on co-operatives.

E.S.B.

**SOCIAL WELFARE IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.** *Organization and Planning through Diocesan Bureaus.* By MARGUERITE F. BOYLAN. New York: Columbia University Press, 1941, pp. xx+363.

Part One takes up the nature and development of diocesan bureaus, giving attention in three chapters to the social forces influencing their development and to the cycles in their growth. Part Two treats specifically of the Catholic charities of the Diocese of Brooklyn. In this detailed case study space is given to family welfare work, protective care of children, health work, and social group work. The themes of Part Three are personnel and their training, finance, and "horizons ahead," with research and co-ordination of welfare activities being emphasized. A diocesan bureau of social welfare is defined as "the watchtower from which it is possible to survey all the social conditions within the diocese and in the larger community of which it is a part." This scholarly book will prove of great use. It makes concrete what the author refers to as "the Christian philosophy of social work," as seen from one important viewpoint.

**TIME ON THEIR HANDS.** *A Report on Leisure, Recreation, and Young People.* Prepared for The American Youth Commission by C. GILBERT WRENN and D. L. HARLEY. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1941, pp. ix+266.

An excellent summary of the recreation needs of youth and what is being done to meet these needs. The leisure-time situation is considered in the light of social changes. After appraising the kinds and amounts of recreation that youth receive, viewed in relation to their real needs and their environment today, the authors proceed to review the principal recreation agencies, public and private, that are now available. The chapters on publicly and privately supported community agencies, community planning for the recreation needs of youth, state and federal functions in the field of recreation are especially valuable for those interested in knowing about the types of facilities and opportunities being offered to the youth of the land. Many suggestions are added to indicate how the services of local recreation can be improved.

M.H.N.

**YOU AND YOUR SUPERSTITIONS.** By BREWTON BERRY. Columbia, Missouri: Lucas Brothers, 1940, pp. 249.

In twelve chapters the author treats superstitions in popular language. He concludes that their origins are to be found largely in the desire for security in an uncertain world.



## SOCIAL DRAMA

**NATIVE SON. A Play in Ten Scenes.** By PAUL GREEN and RICHARD WRIGHT.  
New York: Harper and Brothers, 1941, pp. ix+148.

This is the play made from Richard Wright's moving and stirring novel of the same title. Enlisting the services of Paul Green, the distinguished and scholarly author of many South Carolina folkplays and of "In Abraham's Bosom," the author of the novel has transported his story of frustrated negro Bigger Thomas to dramatic literature and the stage. The play has been one of the current season's successful dramas, owing probably to the dramatic recital of the life story of the handicapped Bigger and the exposition of that role by a fine negro actor, Canada Lee. Like the novel, the play opens in the one-room tenement apartment of the Bigger family and has for its initial action the episode of the killing of the rat, a simile being struck again on the struggles of the rat and Bigger. The story of the novel is generally followed save that the play presents the story in an objective way, whereas the novel offered it by unfolding the stream of consciousness in Bigger's mind. Some of the important episodes have had to be omitted from the play, but there are enough left to make it the same vigorous and violent story, the story of oppression, of conflict, of a mind confused in attempting to find itself. The best melodramatic scene in the play occurs when the inquisitive and news-scenting reporter traps Bigger in the basement at the door of the furnace which consumed the body of Mary Dalton, the white girl he had unintentionally murdered. The most intensive action comes during the final scene in the condemned cell, just before Bigger is led to his execution. Here Bigger attempts to explain his actions and the philosophic ideology which led him into his crimes. Bigger represents in the play the individual forced into isolation by a society which refused to recognize in him human desires that needed satisfaction. An old Negro song printed in the preface to the printed edition of the play states it poetically:

I've got a life that's long and weary  
I got to live it for myself—  
Ain't nobody here to live it for me,  
I got to live it for myself.

The task of dramatizing a successful novel is difficult, but it has been done here in a significant and telling manner. The play has become a sociological document of first-rate importance.

M.J.V.